JULY, 1937

THE CRISIS

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Editor

ADVISORY BOARD

J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 44, No. 7 *Whole No. 319*

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NEXT MONTH

An article on the C.I.O. and the Negro Worker by John P. Davis will be a feature of the August issue. Mr. Davis is familiar with the work of the C.I.O. in the steel, automobile and textile industries where thousands of Negroes are employed. He reviews the work of the Committee for Industrial Organization in these industries.

•

The August number will be the 26th annual Education issue. It will contain pictures, information and statistics about the college graduates of 1937. There is still time to send in pictures and information as the deadline has been extended to July 7. All material must be in THE CRISIS office by July 7.

•

We expect to present, also, another article in the series on Africa and world politics by George Padmore.

•

There will be a review of the campaign against inequalities in public education by Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., who has had charge of the legal cases.

•

There will be also a short piece by G. James Fleming.

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Richard Allen, An Interpretation

By Miles Mark Fisher

THE public life of Richard Allen might be said to have begun exactly one hundred and fifty years ago. Primarily because of him the African Methodist Episcopal Church was founded, and one of its expressions of gratitude is a mammoth sesqui-centennial observance in Memphis this June.

Richard Allen deserves this, not, however, because he achieved success in spite of his meagre slave birth in Philadelphia on February 14, 1760. He is not unusual because he like hundreds of other Negroes was converted during the Methodist phase of the Great Awakening, nor because he was an instrument in the conversion of his Delaware master, for some of his Negro contemporaries preached to white people, founded their churches and were pastors of them, began their missions and presided over their associations from Louisiana to Connecticut—wherever the Quakers cultivated the field. He is not distinguished because he made money during the American Revolution and the War of 1812 as we did during the World War, and because he saved it as many of us did not. He bought his freedom in 1777. Richard Allen is significant because he developed the entirely new philosophy that the United States was the "mother country" of the American Negro.

Allen with others occupied the accustomed Negro place in the St. George Methodist Episcopal church after he went to Philadelphia in 1786, but all the while he was being stirred by the agitations for the rights of man which were giving birth to a nation in its Philadelphia capital. The story goes that at St. George church on a Sunday in November, 1787, Absalom Jones, Richard Allen and other Negroes were told to sit in the gallery of the church. They mistook the exact place and were at prayer when a trustee attempted to pull Jones and others from their knees. The prayer ended before the plan could be carried out, and the Negroes went out of the church never to return.

Jones and Allen were already key men in the mutual and relief Free African Society which was begun at Philadelphia that spring, but Richard Allen remained an active member of the society hardly a year longer. After November, 1788, Allen absented himself from the society's meetings, and by the next summer a committee from the society had "long treated with Richard Allen . . . for attempting to sow division" among the members and so felt it necessary to declare him "disunited." Thereafter the Free African Society of Philadelphia could with ease of conscience correspond with the Free African Society of Newport, Rhode Island, which society was proposing that Negroes return to Africa. The controversy seems clear.

The founder of the African Methodist Episcopal church was a religious radical who not only opposed segregation within the church, but fought the African colonization plans of the powerful churches of his day, contending successfully that Negroes should be allowed to remain in their new land

Opposed Colonization

Richard Allen had determined to give no support to the cause of African colonization even if it had become a part of a missionary program which was sweeping the country. Before the American Revolution the Reverend Samuel Hopkins had interested Dr. Ezra Stiles, later to become the President of Yale College, in African colonization. Almost everything in Newport, Rhode Island, was influenced by Hopkins' outstanding pastorate at the First Congregational church there. He sent two Africans off to Princeton to receive preparation for mission service at their "home" in Africa. After the cotton gin was invented and slaves became more valuable, numerous proposals to deport free Negroes originated. From the beginning of Allen's public life, however, he not only would not endorse African colonization but would actively oppose it.

By 1791 the meetings of the Philadelphia Free African Society developed into the African Church of Philadelphia. This church was dedicated the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas in 1794; it was a part of the national Protestant Episcopal Church which had been organized in Philadelphia just a few years before. Allen stood by himself in opposing the whole movement, though Jones accepted the rectorship of this church which Allen was once offered but refused. Allen got together a company of the Methodists, and incidentally, one can imagine, anti-colonizationist, persuasion. It was not necessary for any recruit to Allen's cause to have this world's possessions; all that was needed was the dream that Allen possessed. Allen had means and property. He tells his own story: "I bought an old frame that had formerly been occupied as a blacksmith shop . . . and hauled it on the (his own) lot . . . I employed carpenters to . . . fit it for a place of worship." The same year and month (July, 1794) in which the St. Thomas Church was dedicated marked the dedication of Allen's Bethel Church by Bishop Asbury. Dr. Wesley quotes Allen as remarking that this church "in some measure discriminated ourselves."

Richard Allen was interested in having Negroes make a definite contribution to their homeland, the new United States. With Absalom Jones, who remained Allen's amanuensis, he defended against published attack their helpful labors "during the Awful Calamity (of yellow fever) in Philadelphia in the year 1793." They collaborated in several pamphlets. In 1794 Allen published an *Address to the People of Color*, charging the free Negroes not to be lazy or idle. True to the genius of Methodism he started class meetings in Bethel two years later. These with the Sunday school were giving Negroes lessons in citizenship. Avoid bad habits, Allen admonished through the pamphlet, " . . . Confession of John Joyce . . . for the Murder of Mrs. Sarah Cross . . . ," published in 1808. All the while he was busy winning complete autonomy for Bethel from the St. George church.

Elected Bishop

Complete freedom for Bethel came in the spring of 1816, and on April 10 Richard Allen was elected the bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church after Daniel Coker of Baltimore had declined the honor on the previous day. Coker was expelled from the connection. It appears that Richard Allen was elevated in the newly organized church and that Daniel Coker refused the bishopric and was disciplined because Allen personified the African Methodist sentiment against African

colonization which he had led in making while Coker was an active colonizationist.

Coker had become actively allied with African colonization in 1812 because of the Negro Quaker sea captain, Paul Cuffe of New Bedford, Massachusetts. Cuffe had sailed to Sierra Leone, West Africa, in 1811 in his ship, *Traveller*. At its capital, Freetown, he organized the Friendly Society with the ex-slave preacher, John Kizell, serving as president. England endorsed his colonization-commercial plan when he visited there on his return to the United States in 1812. Notwithstanding, he was not allowed by law to land here the cargo of brandy which he brought back; so leaving his *Traveller* at sea, he took a pilot boat to New Bedford and with full endorsement went on to Washington in order to secure the needed Federal permission to land. Dr. Sherwood tells the whole story in the *Journal of Negro History*. On his successful trip from Washington Cuffe stopped by Baltimore and called to see Coker and the other leader of the African school there of 107 children. Plans were outlined whereby these leaders were to organize a society to correspond with the Friendly Society in Africa and with the London African Institution. At great personal expense Cuffe again set out for Sierra Leone in December of 1815 with 38 passengers and some articles of trade. Daniel Coker was more than sympathetic with all of this.

Coker had indeed chosen the popular and conservative side. An African colonization association of national proportions was then being widely and favorably discussed. In order to become assured that such a plan was practical, Robert Finley, a Presbyterian clergyman, later the President of Princeton College, went to Cuffe for advice and help. He highly praised Cuffe in his pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Colonization of Free Blacks,* published in 1816 to make a case for a colonization association, in which he wrote in predestinarian fashion: "The friends of man will strive in vain to raise them (Negroes) to a proper level while they remain among us." Accordingly, in December, 1816, Robert Finley brought about the organization of the American Society for Colonizing Free People of Colour of the United States, with their consent. He expressed his faith in its objectives by saying: "I know this scheme is from God." The ostensible Christian emphasis of the society ordinarily placed it beyond criticism. According to Early Lee Fox, William Lloyd Garrison, Arthur Tappan, James G. Birney, Gerald Smith and numerous college presidents could see nothing wrong with the plan.

Hardly had Richard Allen been elected bishop in a convention of some sixteen people than during that year he with other Negroes, prominent among whom was James Forten, resolved upon calling a convention to protest against African colonization. Allen threw the whole weight of his high office behind this convention of Negroes and gave the local Bethel, of which he was the pastor, for its meeting in January, 1817. Colonizationists followed what Allen was saying and doing. His daring protest reached the ears of Cuffe's emigrants in far away Africa. Undoubtedly at the suggestion of the colonizationists they wrote letters to the American free Negroes to come to Africa. These letters, bearing date of May 18, 1818, not only appeared in the records of the American Colonization Society but in denominational periodicals as well. Samuel Wilson is talking from Sierra Leone:

> I am surprised to hear from Brother John Kizell, that he has seen a letter of your publication, in which you oppose coming to a land which your fathers went from. You may be rich, but do you think you will be respected as the real Americans? Do you not know that the land where you are is not your own? Do you not know that you are strangers in that land? . . . If you refuse to come and deliver Africa out of darkness, God will send deliverance from another quarter. Who knows, Mr. R— A—, but God has made you a minister to train up young men to be ministers in Africa? I do not speak this to you alone, but to all the brother preachers; for the Lord commands you, saying, "Go . . . preach . . ." and you do refuse to go,—only standing and preaching there in America where there are thousands of ministers, and let the devil have power over your country, and your relations . . .

The two other published letters stated that Africa was like or was Canaan. "Dear friends, let this be printed, if you please," was said.

In Coker's *Journal,* under date of March 22, 1820, mention is made of Kizell's "address to a coloured citizen in this country of considerable wealth and influence." This letter was withheld from publication. "Kizell," said Coker, "writes with great force and feeling. He is a man of some education; commands a nervous pen, and speaks like a man having authority. He is extensively kind and generous-hearted: and he rebukes with discriminating severity. But, as it is quite possible that he has misconceived some traits in the character of the worthy man, whom he addresses, censuring him for opposing the scheme of colonization in Africa, the publication of the letter might injure the cause. Indeed, we have heard, through no doubtful channel, that it is the serious intention of the person to whom Kizzel writes, to turn his energies and his fortune toward Africa."

The first shipload of emigrants had sailed to Africa under the auspices of the American Colonization Society during the winter of 1820. Coker, who by this time had been restored to fellowship in his denomination, was consistent enough to go along as a colonist with the three agents and the eighty-five other emigrants. Coker stayed in the cabin with the agents on the passage, because, as he said, he was "a kind of a middle link between the white and colored." He was appointed justice of peace at Sherbro, West Africa, but he was repudiated by the colonists after the three agents and no less than twenty-two of the emigrants had died of malarial fever by summer. As soon as the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society heard of the predicament, they encouraged Coker by a vote of thanks with a present not to exceed $150. He saved their cause until an African asylum could be procured.

$100,000 from U. S.

African colonization must succeed. It had become the race relations ideal of the American churches. At the beginning of the Colonization Society and afterwards it was "consecrated by the prayers of the pious." The Protestant Episcopal church, which still maintains its missionary leadership in Liberia, the African Asylum, became its leading sponsor. The first president of the society, Bushrod Washington, its first American agent, William Meade, later bishop, and six of the first nine colonial agents, of whom four were ministers, were all Episcopalians. Because of the intervention on behalf of the society of President James Monroe, an Episcopal-

(*Continued on page* 208)

Last Call

for

GRADUATES

There is still time to get pictures and information about 1937 college graduates into the August issue. The time has been extended. All photographs and material must be in THE CRISIS office, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, on or before July 7.

The Green Bottle

By Louis Emanuel Martin

Successful use of the dangerous weapon, the boycott, is here outlined showing that if one wants to sell beer or any other product to a people, it had best be done without calling the customers contemptible names

WHEN gouty old Captain Charlie Cunningham Boycott told the Irish Devils on his Estate in the year 1880 that he wanted more rent and less talk he inadvertently popularized an economic sport which under dogs have often considered heaven-sent and which today bears his name. A few weeks ago the Negroes of Detroit, Michigan, found out all about this game and wrote a new chapter in the city's militant history by completely boycotting one of the fastest selling brands of beer in the colored section. Of all things, a verbal insult by a drunken fight fan started it.

Jack Kearns, with the help of his old friend, Jack Dempsey, who picks up extra cash by refereeing, staged a boxing show May 21 at Olympia in Detroit with Arturo Godoy, Chilean heavyweight and Roscoe Toles, coming Negro heavyweight challenger, topping the card. Elmer "Slim" McClelland whom colored fight fans thoroughly dislike had the unpleasant job of refereeing the match. Olympia was packed to the rafters and executives of the state of Michigan from Governor Frank Murphy on down had ringside seats.

Every one of the several thousand Negroes scattered about the vast boxing temple had their hearts and not a little of their money on Roscoe Toles, the home town boy. A few who knew Godoy's record in the ring were a trifle skeptical of the outcome but they believed Toles would be standing up at the end of the ten rounds.

Kenneth Doyle, a former business partner of John Roxborough, manager of Joe Louis, who is white and regarded as one of the "whitest" of white men by hundreds of colored sportsmen who knew him intimately, occupied a box about a hundred feet from the ring. In recent months Kenny Doyle had been promoting the sales of Altes Lager, a green-bottled beer, in the colored night clubs and beer gardens, although the Tivoli Brewing company denied that Doyle had any official position with the company.

At the sound of the gong both Godoy and Toles came out of their corners with spirit and started what Detroit fans called the closest boxing bout in history. Whatever assets Roscoe Toles may have as a boxer, gracefulness is certainly the least among them. On the other hand, the Latin Godoy performed as if he were on a movie set and it appeared to most of the spectators that he was really making a fool out of the hard-working Roscoe. The blows were puzzling and the fans grew squirmy in their anxiety for one or the other fighter to do something and do it decisively. Godoy seemed to be in the best condition, but lumbering old Roscoe just kept sweating and putting a blow across whenever the notion seemed to strike him.

Yells Insults

Kenny Doyle simply couldn't stand it. And probably before he himself realized it, Doyle jumped to his feet and began yelling "Kill that Nigger" until he was blue in the face. The ten rounds were over and there stood Godoy and Toles looking at each other. A newshawk at the ringside had to tell the referee that the fight was over. "Slim" McClelland didn't appear to know it. After a little hesitancy in the middle of the ring he walked over to Roscoe's corner and held his hand up. Bedlam broke loose and the four walls alone prevented the booing from being heard in Ypsilanti. Kenny Doyle went mad. He kept yelling "Nigger Lover" at the referee and was apparently ready for a fight himself.

Almost a thousand Negroes who had heard him yelling would have given their right arms to get near him. The booing of the decision was bad enough, but the thought of Kenny Doyle, their "real" friend, yelling "Nigger," at the top of his voice was carrying a bad thing "too far." Less than twenty minutes after the fight was over all Paradise Valley, the colored section, was talking about the decision and the insulting remarks of the popular Kenny Doyle. Corpulent Roy Lightfoot, night club owner and "Mayor of Paradise Valley" became so angry that he wouldn't sell any of the beer that Kenny Doyle had been pushing. The boycott of the green bottle was on.

All night long from one beer tavern to another the word was passed that Kenny Doyle, who had associated closely with Negroes all his life, stood up at Olympia and called them names. In one night club an irate guest kicked a tray full of green bottled beer out of a waiter's hand and wanted to fight the party who had unwittingly ordered it.

The following morning Altes Lager truck drivers in the colored sections found their cases on the sidewalks and orders had been left to carry their beer elsewhere. Several drivers had to return to the Tivoli Brewing company for more money in order to pay off the deposits which had been placed on bottles by the various merchants. By noon the situation had become so acute that officials of the company got in their cars and came down to see Roy Lightfoot and several of their best customers. They were frankly nonplused.

The officials flatly denied that Kenny Doyle was working for the company, and began frantically casting about for suggestions to relieve the situation. The Negroes were adamant. Jap Sneed, local promoter, Thomas Ormsby and William Anderson, business men, along with several others, brought out the point that no Negroes were on the payroll of the Tivoli company. Hence, there was no reason for buying their beer anyway. Gradually the masses of the Negroes became conscious of the fact that they had really put over a boycott and had got "the white folks in the middle."

The Fight Is Won

For several days the boycott was complete. The efforts of the company officials to regain their suddenly lost business were refreshing. They seemed willing to do almost anything. Most of the business men in Paradise Valley agreed that the Tivoli would go far in settling the matter if they hired some colored workers. The officials jumped at the suggestion. Andy Gilmer, a colored youth, was immediately appointed as goodwill representative and salesman at forty dollars a week and expenses. Hugh Martin, vice-president of the company, wrote a public letter stating the position of the firm and every Negro newspaper and circular in town received large paid announcements of the appointment. Hugh Martin's letter was

(*Continued on page* 208)

Jim Crow Goes to School in New York

By Edith M. Stern

WE do these things more subtly in the North. In the South, segregation, discrimination, and suppression of the Negro are frankly carried out in the schools. Up here we do not maintain separate school systems for white and colored: our means are neither flagrant nor dramatic, but our ends are the same. They are achieved despite laws against discrimination.

In New York City, initial segregation is achieved by forces even more powerful than the Board of Education. Negroes are forced to live in certain neighborhoods, and naturally children attend the nearby elementary schools. It is all very simple. At least six schools are 100% colored, and many others as high as eighty or ninety per cent.

The high school situation is more complicated. The days when only a few exceptionally bright colored children craved the higher education are over, and New Yorkers are compelled to face the fact that in certain high schools Negroes may outnumber whites. Until recently, any policy of segregation in the high schools was distinctly sub rosa: Harlemites complained that there must have been some kind of secret agreement among principals to divert their children from certain secondary schools. Now, however, there is no longer need for conjecture. Recent zoning regulations purport to discourage pupils from traveling far from their homes. No one north of 110th street, for instance, may attend Julia Richman High School at 67th street. Harlem begins about 110th street. No one south of 150th street may attend the beautiful new George Washington at 195th street. Harlem ends about 155th street. Haaren, however, housed in a shabby old building at 10th avenue and 59th street, in the San Juan Hill district, is an unzoned school open to pupils from all parts of the city. These zoning regulations are purely geographical: nothing is said about color. Yet they result in all but four high schools in the city being practically closed to Negroes.

Pressure for segregation comes from several sources. Much is from white parents, outspoken from individuals, veiled when Parents' Associations, in mixed districts, have it as their objective behind petitions for new buildings. Officially, it does not come from the Board of Education, though Dr. John L. Tildsley, superintendent in charge of high schools—always admirable in his honesty and willingness to be quoted—

There is some segregation and discrimination in the New York City public schools, this writer finds, although New York is far more subtle than, say, Savannah, Ga.

believes in it wherever Negroes tend to outnumber whites. Such pressure as may be exerted from other powers that be remains largely undercover. Principals, too, do not relish having a large proportion of colored pupils, with the ensuing problems, in their schools. Only from one source does no prejudice seem to spring, and that is from the children themselves. Youngsters seem to be unconscious of the insuperable barriers between them and their colored classmates. Apparently they have to be educated up to it.

The point of discrimination is not so clear-cut as that of segregation: where it meets mere neglect is a nice point. If Harlem's educational facilities were Grade A, the accusation of segregation would not necessarily be followed by that of discrimination. Discrimination, however, is part of a social picture of which the schools are only one detail.

Poor Promised Land

Harlem is the Promised Land of the American Negro. Yet it is poor, terribly poor. Harlemites need relief more than people in any other section of the city, and get it less. Harlemites need medical care most, and get it least. Harlem has the greatest density of population: one block, harboring 4,000 souls, holds the city's record.

The combination of poverty, ignorance and overcrowding gives rise to appalling environmental conditions and home backgrounds. In one school, of 1,600 homes, 700 had one parent missing. One little boy, when asked why he had fallen asleep in class, answered that it had not been his turn to go to bed the night before. Eight people in his household occupied two rooms. Harlem mothers, when they can get work, are out cleaning other children's homes: Harlem fathers contribute far more than their racial quota to the city's prisons. Small wonder that children from such homes tend to be rampageous and undisciplined. When they are southern immigrants, they may be unschooled as well: the average child, not mentally defective, is almost a peculiarly Harlem problem. To all these difficulties the Puerto Ricans add those of language.

Obviously the school system is not to blame for Negro children's economic and environmental handicaps, nor for the city's defections in the way of relief, parks, and medical care. But it is responsible for not making heroic attempts to overcome their disqualifications by the best schooling money and lack of politics can supply. Harlem schools are among the worst in the city, and serve only to reenforce the degradation maintained by other agencies.

The subcommittee on education, of the Mayor's Committee on the Harlem riot of 1935, stated in its report which for a year passed into the limbo until revived by the Teachers' Union: "the colored people alone have been subject to grave discrimination and neglect by the educational authorities." "Educational authorities" of course, deny such discrimination—with requests not to quote them on the denials. The facts remain that only two new schools had been built in Harlem in the decade preceding the report (May, 1935) and only nine since 1900. Queens, in the same period, was blessed with 78 new buildings. Queens is also blessed with good politicians, and the official excuse for what looks suspiciously like discrimination, is the declining population of Manhattan. Yet the influx of southern Negroes has increased density in Harlem enormously. At last, after prolonged agitation, two new schools have been approved for Harlem. That it is still not the object of undue favoritism is evidenced, however, by the fact that a housing project for Harlem, increasing the school population of its district by about 500, will be served by old P.S. 90, admittedly overcrowded seven years ago.

A typical Harlem school is like a prison, and a badly run one at that. Even the most diligent scrubbing cannot really clean a building built in the 70's or 80's: that there is not diligent scrubbing the odor of ages in the lunchrooms and the rubbish accumulated under benches testify. The children have none of the *joie de vivre* popularly associated with their age, and tuck their rachitic legs under benches too small for them in rooms unadorned, bleak and dingy. Teachers, trying to cope with classes whose numbers average slightly more than even those in other overcrowded sections, with children who

(*Continued on next page*)

have eye defects and toothaches and empty stomachs, suffer from frayed nerves and give way to harsh-voiced impatience.

Few teachers would make a Harlem appointment first choice. The Board has a ruling that new teachers will not be granted transfers until three years after appointment, and the inexperienced undergo a three years' purgatory at the expense of pupils who need the most experienced. Some bring with them indifference, some prejudice. Discriminatory practices are supposedly dealt with by the authorities: yet one teacher who snapped, "How dare you talk like that to a white woman?" was still teaching in the same school weeks after the incident.

Shunted to Vocational Schools

In this fashion New York's colored children are prepared for higher education. Small wonder that few of them qualify! And even the qualified meet with obstacles when they wish to proceed to academic rather than vocational high schools. Pulling the wool over the eyes of parents is one way of perpetuating a racial group of laborers and houseservants. "Do you wish your child to go to this school or that?" clerks ask. Both are vocational. One mother was asked whether she wished her daughter to take out working papers or attend a certain vocational high school. Thinking a high school was a high school she chose the latter, and to her astonishment she received a mimeographed sheet listing such intellectual activities as manicuring, dressmaking and mother's helper. Upon inquiry, she learned a mother's helper was a nurse. Mistakenly assuming it meant trained nurse, she chose it. The girl found herself tending babies. "Not a pencil, not a book," the mother reported sadly. She had signed: it was too late to change.

Zoning regulations also facilitate diversion to vocational schools. Washington Irving, for instance, is not open to pupils above 59th street—except for its technical courses!

Dr. Tildsley frankly advocates vocational rather than academic training for Negroes. Isn't a girl better off as a seamstress making a living than as a stenographer not making one, he says? But somehow, even people with dark skins like to misdirect their own lives; while if the mass of Negroes is encouraged to be inferior they will remain inferior, and perpetuate a problem.

Those Mental Tests

As for the great numbers of unqualified, on the surface there seems to be good reason for discouraging them from academic work. But one must go below the surface and examine the marvelous system by which the sheep are separated from the goats. This is the pseudo-scientific application of the mystic letters. I.Q. Binet, one of the originators of intelligence tests, as long ago as 1908 recognized "the importance of environmental and educational opportunities as well as native intelligence." Many educators have not recognized it yet. Puerto Ricans unfamiliar with English, domestic immigrants from the deep South, and the children of well-to-do professionals, are all measured by the same yardstick. As Julius Metz pointed out in *The New York Teacher,* there is evidence that I.Q.'s correlate with economic environment; that report between examiner and examined has an effect on scores; that a Negro child can hardly be expected to mark as "true" the statement "Silence must prevail in churches and libraries" when it is not true of churches he has attended. I.Q.'s, in short, are far from infallible in determining innate capacity.

Negro pupils, therefore, though their I.Q. scores are on the whole lower than whites' are not necessarily more dull-witted and incapable than their compatriots. Trapped from the beginning in poverty and an unhappy environment, they are not released by their experiences in the elementary schools. Where suppression is flagrant, they are abandoned. Where it is more discreet, they are edged into the kind of occupations that keep the Negro in his place. If, for once, we found out what they could do by giving them the finest education the community affords instead of one that leaves them exactly where they are, we might learn that the policy of perpetuating a pariah group, for all the convenience of having a subject class easily distinguishable by its pigmentation, is not only dangerous, but unnecessary.

An Argentine Poet on Race

In the famous South American poem, *Martin Fierro,* by José Hernández, published in 1872, which may almost be called the Argentine national epic, the following words express the poet's attitude on the question of race:

Dios hizo al blanco y al negro
Sin declarar los mejores;
Les mandó iguales dolores
Bajo de una misma cruz;
Mas también hizo la luz
Pa distinguir los colores.

This might roughly be translated thus:

God created white and black
Without saying which is best;
Both he cursed with equal sorrows
Underneath the same cross pressed;
Then to see the colors right,
Our dear Lord created light.

J.E.S.

An Ethiope in Spain

By Jay N. Hill

(This verse was inspired by the activities of Ghvet, son of Ras Imru of Ethiopia who is now fighting for the International Brigade in Spain.)

No jewel shone in this Ethiope's ear,
No gay cloth draped his form.
  Dust bespattered his dusky limbs,
  Sweat covered his stern face,
  Determination furrowed his brow,
As he stood, half-erect, half-crouching
  On Spanish soil,
  Fighting his old enemy.

Silent man of the past, he seemed heroic,
  Through disillusion and forced exile,
  Through faded visions of Adowa,
  Of ancient streets in Addis Ababa,
  Of mountains and muddy roads in Abyssinia,
Where barefoot men
  Trudged their way through centuries
  Of peace, and calmly roamed the hills.

Silent man of the hour is he,
  Hurling back the ejector,
  Loading, firing grimly;
Exchanging few words with his company,
  For he spoke neither Italian
    Nor Spanish.
  Though little English
    And some French,
  For the most part he spoke Amharic.
And that was not necessary
  For language could not match
  The eloquence of his silence.

A distant radiance shines in his eye—
A kindred light, that some men claim
  Set the flame
    At Runnymede
      At the Bastile
        At Boston
          At Moscow
            At Madrid.

Civil conflagration
Sweeps the hills of Guadalajara,
The halls at University City
  Tell frightful tales of direst tragedy.
  As "Frenchman's Bridge" becomes a bridge of sighs—
  Manzares turns a sanguine hue.
  Bilboa chants Niobe's fateful strain—
  As children's feet—
  Beat out a terrified retreat,
    Before the roar and scream
    Of planes that fleck the sky.

Spain writhes in pain.
Her gates—humanity's gates—
  Withhold a devastating horde,
  A pack of 'hireling wolves'. . . .

At one gate, in silence, fights this Ethiope,
  Goaded by the rape
  Of motherland, of sisterland—
Yesterday, a symbol of black majesty,
Today a victim of civilized barbarity,
A prince, with no bright jewel in his ear.

A Black Woman in Red Russia

By Chatwood Hall

Once a school girl on the upper West side of Manhattan, New York City, this colored woman has become a noted concert artist in Soviet Russia

DURING the hectic days of the World War a young brown girl strolled through the Summer Garden in St. Petersburg. On one of the sun-kissed promenades she met several big-chinned Tsarist officers promenading with their elegantly and fashionably-dressed ladies.

"What a cute African girl that is," remarked one of the women to her companions.

One of the officers glanced in the direction which the woman indicated by a nod of her head, immediately withdrew his glance, simultaneously expectorating on the lawn. His conduct was not unusual for military officers and other officials in the Tsarist government service. It was customary for them outwardly to show their "Great Russian" chauvinist contempt for minority and supposedly "lower" races. In the Tsarist imperialist colonies in Turkestan and in other parts of the Russian Empire they spat on the minority peoples; against the Jews they incited bloody pogroms.

By 1924 the "cute African girl" had grown to womanhood, had finished her musical education in both the Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg, now Leningrad) and Moscow Conservatories of Music, and on April third of that year made her first public appearance on the stage of the Bolshoi theatre in Moscow.

"What was your reaction to this first appearance, especially inasmuch as it occurred in Russia's greatest and most famous theater?" I inquired.

"Although it seemed at the time a bit of boldness on my part, I eagerly awaited the day," replied Coretti Arle-Titz. "The audience included many of the leading figures in Moscow musical circles, come to see and hear a Negro woman sing the whole evening through not only in Russian music, but also in the Russian language. The great applause which the audience gave me caused my seeming boldness to be replaced with confidence. I can never forget that evening."

Honored on Radio

In the winter of 1934 the Moscow Radio Center gave a special radio evening in honour of "one of the best-known artists on the Soviet concert stage" and to mark the tenth year of Coretti Arle-Titz's concert work in Soviet Russia. In announcing the program the director of Radio Center said: "Coretti Arle-Titz has appeared in regular concert work in the Soviet Union for ten years with great love and popularity."

Coretti Arle-Titz had just returned from Archangel, deep in the Arctic Circle, when I went to visit her in her apartment on the Ostozhenko, a district formerly occupied by rich Moscow merchants in pre-Revolutionary days. Plain Soviet citizens like Arle-Titz and her husband, Professor Boris Titz, well-known professor of the piano in the Moscow Conservatory, now occupy the comfortable apartments of the former Muscovite mercantile men.

"I suppose you want to begin from the beginning," said Arle-Titz, as my note-book and pencil came into view. "I was born in Mexico, but I remember little about that country, because I was taken to New York when I was just a baby. About New York I also do not remember very much, it was so long ago."

"There can sometimes be much in little," interposed Professor Titz from his seat near the ice-covered window.

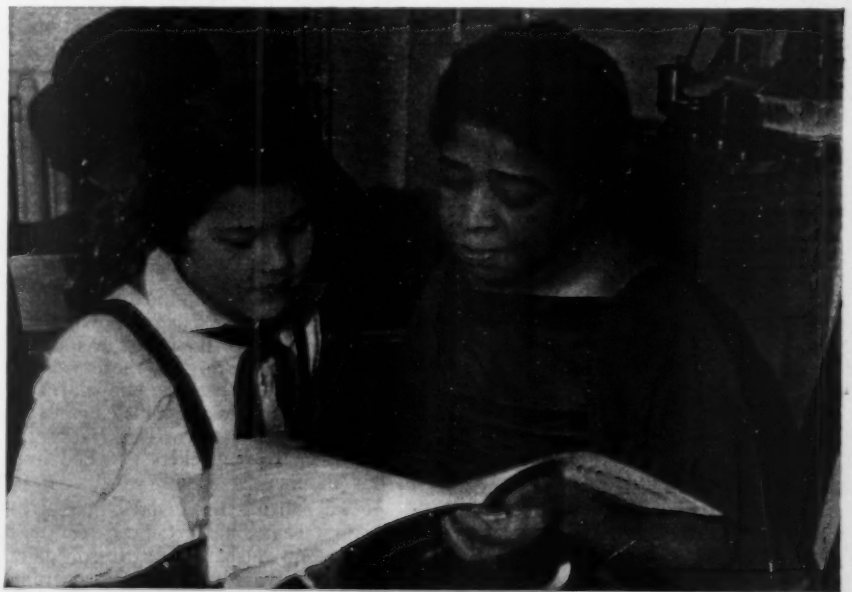
"In everyone's life there must be some unforgettable moments, though," I added encouragingly.

"After leaving Mexico my mother went to work in a hotel in the Catskill mountains. From there she got a job in a boarding house in New York City. I was then six years old. Later, my mother entered me in a public school on Ninety-Eighth street and West End avenue. And something happened there that I can never forget; it had much to do with my coming to this part of the world."

During a spring cantata, related Arle-Titz, the pupils, not finding her present, and knowing that she had one of the best voices, asked the music director why she was not participating. He replied: "It is impossible to use her; she is only a little black girl." From this day she was determined to avail herself of the first opportunity to flee from America's race prejudice to some country in Europe, she knew not which one.

Taken to Germany

It so happened that a visiting German woman by the name of Kohn-Wollner visited Mount Olive Baptist church in New York City. Young Coretti was a member of the choir, and her voice so attracted Madam Kohn-Wollner that she forthwith made arrangements to take



Mme. Arle-Titz and one of her young admirers

the girl to Germany. But Germany soon palled on her and she decided to come to the land of Pushkin. That was in 1913, a year before Tsarist Russia, ironically enough innocent of democratic government, hurled her oppressed and exploited millions into the imperialist slaughter to make the world safe for democracy!

"Have you been back to America, Citizen Arle-Titz?" I asked.

"Yes, once I returned to America to see my mother, but my heart remained in Russia, where among the Russian masses I could forget that I am coloured. I found America, with its oppression, frustration, Jim Crow, and hypocrisy, unbearable, and soon returned to my beloved Russia."

Intense musical training in the Conservatory in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) followed, supplemented simultaneously by private lessons under the noted professor, Svansiger. Then came her first invitation to sing; it was to be an extremely private appearance, and satisfaction and pride were plainly visible in Arle-Titz's brown face when she related the source of this first invitation. Many an artist would consider it the highlight of his or her career to be invited (or rather commanded) by some crowned head or "blue blood" to sing. But not so Arle-Titz.

One day there came to her a serious and earnest, though kind Russian by the name of Nicholas Burenin with a request that she come and sing at a workers' meeting at one of the Petrograd industrial plants. She accepted. Her first concert, she later learned, had been performed for a group of revolutionaries; Burenin was an underground revolutionary worker and a staunch Bolshevik. Young Coretti was now becoming acquainted with the people in Russia who did not despise a "cute African girl" or any other national minority peoples.

Through the Bolshevik, Burenin, she met many of the Petrograd revolutionary intelligentsia—actors, composers, musicians, art workers, writers, etc. It was Burenin who introduced her to the noted Soviet writer, Maxim Gorki, who was her close and admiring friend until his death in 1936. Coretti Arle-Titz reached onto a writing desk and handed me a picture of Gorki. It was autographed: "To dear and beloved Coretti Arle-Titz"—Maxim Gorki.

From her revolutionary acquaintances and from long periods of residence in Russian villages, Arle-Titz became intimately familiar with Tsarism in action. The Tsarist gendarmerie and secret police, she remarked, shadowed and hunted down leaders of the Russian working class with unrelenting fury and brutality. Thousands of the best leaders and teachers of the Russian proletariat rotted in exile in Tsarist Siberian prisons. Nevertheless, the Russian toilers proved themselves masters of illegal and underground activity.

"Many of my early years in Russia were spent in the villages," stated Arle-Titz. "There I became intimately acquainted with the life of the Russian peasantry and learned at first hand of their miserable condition. They lived in poverty, ignorance, and filth. From the cradle to the grave their life was spent absolutely under the interlocking power of the landlords, the church and the Tsarist government.

"While many of them had use of small strips of land, this was not sufficient to support them and, consequently, they had to work an allotted number of days on the vast estates of rich landlords or for kulaks (rich peasants). Whenever the poor peasants could not pay their taxes the Tsarist village police came and took horses, cows, hogs, and anything of value. The peasants merely wept and declared that it was the will of God, that thus it always had been and so it must always be."

Sang for Revolutionists

The Revolution of 1917 found Arle-Titz in Petrograd. Later, during the height of the Civil War, famine and foreign imperialist intervention, Arle-Titz found herself in Kharkov, the Ukraine, in the center and at one of the very fronts of the struggle. When the Red Army drove out the "whites" and interventionists, young brown Arle-Titz became one of their favourite singers in their barracks, camps and clubs. She handed me a document of those bitter days. It read: "Tovarisch Coretti Arle-Titz served on the South-West front of the Red Army in 1918, 1919 and 1920, with headquarters at Kharkov, in the Political Department." Recalling those stormy days, when the combined intervention of European, American and Japanese troops threatened the very existence of the young Soviet Republic, Coretti Arle-Titz remarked:

"The kindness, love and attention which the workers and Red Army men heaped upon me is unforgettable. I especially remember that, following one of my concerts for them, tea was served in the dining room, but there was no sugar. When it became known that I did not relish tea without sugar, the Red Army men took their ration of sugar from their pockets and laid it in front of me."

It was during those days that Arle-Titz first began her artistic career with her present husband, Professor Titz. Since then they have been inseparable companions. They have gone on concert tours from the Arctic Ocean to the borders of India and from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. Their concerts, with Professor Titz at the piano, have been, and are, musical events in countless Soviet cities and villages, on dozens of collective farms, and at Red Army posts and in workers' clubs. Invitations for tours throughout Europe have been refused, so anxious are the two artists to devote their artistic talents solely to the cultural demands of the Soviet masses.

Under Three Flags

During her continual concert tours, Coretti Arle-Titz is always asked to sing before the leading government officials in the different Soviet Republics. All of her tours are under the auspices of the State Philharmonic, under the direction of which she has appeared since 1925.

"Please mention some of the differences and changes, in your field, between conditions under Soviet power and conditions under Tsarism," Arle-Titz was asked.

"To begin with, during my school days I had to pay well for my musical education. Conditions are different now, since the working class runs the state. Students now receive free tuition from the Soviet state, besides receiving a monthly money stipend. Besides, there is no discrimination on grounds of race or nationality in the Socialist society.

"But these wider opportunities and this splendid assistance places great demands and responsibilities on musical students, for Soviet audiences are well-informed, critical and demand that the artist give only the best."

When she first entered the Russian musical world, Arle-Titz said that the masses of the people had neither the means to enjoy, nor the cultural appreciation of the theatrical and concert world. Audiences were then composed of the rich, the nobles and the aristocrats. Now the cultural level of the masses has been raised to such an extent that the theaters and concert halls are filled with factory workers, collective farmers, Red Army men, chauffeurs, street car conductors and motormen and others who toil.

"You have lived under the American flag, the Tsarist flag, and the Red Flag, Citizen Arle-Titz. Under which flag have you found greatest happiness, freedom, joy?"

"Under the Red flag, of course," she answered, as she reminded the writer that in an hour she must be at the House of the Press for a concert, her last in Moscow before leaving for engagements in Odessa on the Black Sea.

Not Gone With the Wind

By George S. Schuyler

The race hatred of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods is distinctly not gone with the wind, Mr. Schuyler finds, in his examination of the popular novel which he characterizes as just another Rebel propaganda tract

MARGARET MITCHELL'S 1037-page novel may be a Pulitzer Prize Winner to white America but it is just another Rebel propaganda tract to the colored citizen who knows our national history and knows the South.

It follows the general pattern of such novels by southerners. Slavery is painted in gorgeous colors, with the usual procession of loyal if tyrannical house servants, kindly and aristocratic masters, Yankee overseers responsible for all the cruelty, shiftless and unmoral poor whites on the fringes of things, and last and least the swarm of brutish black field hands.

Scarlett O'Hara, the much-married heroine, is the South. So is Rhett Butler, the best limned male character. So is Mammy, the ponderous, tireless and apparently timeless old colored woman who has served three generations. So are all the rest of the characters. For this novel is the Georgian South. It hasn't gone with the wind at all. It has always been with us and always, apparently, will be with us. Physically it has changed, but spiritually it is the same. The Civil war and the Reconstruction with which this novel deals did not exterminate the South, they merely renewed it. Whereas before Appomatox its physical basis was chattel slavery, afterward it shifted to a peculiarly vicious form of agrarian wage slavery.

Here is the mooney, visionary, hard, cruel, sex-obsessed South with its grotesque illusions of superiority, its superficial "culture," its dislike of the more efficient and civilized North, its aversion to work, its tolerance of and affection for the traitorous "house nigger," and its lively hatred and fear of the intelligent Negro who acts as a free man should. It is all here described minutely and with far more objectivity and critical analysis than we have come to expect from its writers.

Margaret Mitchell is a feminist, a modern, a Confederate in slacks, but a Confederate nevertheless. Her point of view is somewhat more refreshing than that of the old school, but essentially she is looking through the same binoculars as Tom Watson and other dead and living professional southerners.

She sees through the old ante-bellum South completely. She paints it with pawky and malicious humor, often with barbed irony and sometimes with scathing sarcasm. "All we have," says one character, "is cotton and slaves and arrogance." There are charming descriptions of the well-known southern aversion to unpleasant facts and the "sacred duty" of believing in its supposed greatness. "Well," says a character, "there is no Confederacy now—though you'd never know it, to hear some people talk." How true!

This is a South of boozers, gamblers, wealthy slaveholders, cloistered and artificial women, of seemingly endless picnics, balls and parties held to show off clothes and to flirt. It is also the South of a prize crew of Uncle Tom house servants who denounce freedom and identify themselves with the Confederacy and what it stands for. They are faithful old dogs ready to die for "Ole Massa."

But this is not the South of the rachitic, pellagric poor whites vegetating without vitamins in their shacks and dugouts, despised alike by rich whites and their well-fed black body servants. There is little about these white outcasts except to ridicule and revile. Nor is this the South of the sweating field hands who piled up its wealth and enabled the parasites to grow fat without toil. There is nothing here of how they lived or how they were treated except implications that they were happy and satisfied and never whipped. They are comfortable cattle.

These slaves delighted to be owned by a master of 100 slaves and looked down upon the owner of only two or three. They hated "free issue" Negroes. They shook hands occasionally with their mistresses and were waited upon hand and foot by these white ladies when ill. They "were proud of the good names of their owners and, for the most part, proud to belong to people who were quality."

The author gives much of the gabble about "The Cause" a good dousing with the ice water of ridicule. It was senseless for the South to fight the North. It had everything to lose and nothing to gain. It was ignorant, headstrong and its bravery was, as Shaw says, a form of stupidity. Many of the Confederate stalwarts took to the woods after a little fighting and stayed there. Others never volunteered. Many profiteered while their "civilization" died. Their way of life was doomed while they played ostrich.

While Mrs. Mitchell has the typical southern white's basic respect and even awe for this way of life which only a few hundred families actually lived, she does not gloss over its flaws save in the instance of the mass of Negro workers enslaved to produce the wealth of the land. She sees that it had to die and she is not a too respectful mourner at its funeral.

Familiar Venom

It is when she comes to Emancipation and Reconstruction that her novel spurts the familiar southern white venom against Negroes and Yankees. Some of her malicious outbursts are unparalleled in the worst Cracker diatribes. It is beyond me how some supposedly educated Negroes could think that she has painted an accurate picture of that era, yet I have heard a New York *colored* school teacher declare after reading this novel: "It was a shame to free those ignorant Negroes!"

"How stupid Negroes were!" muses a character. "They never thought of anything unless they were told. And the Yankees wanted to free them."

"The faint niggery smell which crept from the cabin increased her nausea."

"Niggers pushin' white folks off the sidewalks."

"The Freedman's Bureau took care of the idle and excited ex-slaves . . . and poisoned their minds against their former owners" . . . "They kept the Negroes stirred up with tales of cruelty perpetrated by the whites and, in a section long famed for the affectionate relations between slaves and slave owners, hate and suspicion began to grow."

"The streets were black with loafing Negroes who leaned against walls . . . watching vehicles go past with the naive curiosity of children at a circus parade . . . They were impudent looking."

(*Continued on next page*)

"Some of them are so insolent," wails one white lady. "Your life isn't safe on the streets after dark and even in the broad daylight they push ladies off the sidewalks into the mud. And if any gentleman dares to protest they arrest him."

"How dared they laugh, the black apes! How dared they grin at her" . . . "She'd like to have them all whipped until the blood ran down their backs. What devils the Yankees were to set them free, free to jeer at white people."

There is "perpetual fear" of rape by "ignorant Negroes drunk with whiskey and freedom." And "a good whipping would do some of them a lot of good."

A white "gentleman" remarks casually, "I did kill the nigger. He was uppitty to a lady, and what else could a southern gentleman do?"

"The former slaves were now the lords of creation and . . . the lowest and most ignorant ones were on top." A statement contrary to the facts as DuBois has shown in "Black Reconstruction" where he says "The record of the Negro in the Georgia legislature is creditable."

But Mrs. Mitchell throws facts and breeding to the winds in her revilement of these erstwhile beasts of burden who made everything down South of real value.

"The hordes of trashy free issue niggers who were causing all the trouble" says she, "were drawn largely from the field-hand class . . . Those consigned to the fields were the least willing or able to learn, the least energetic, the least honest and trustworthy, the most vicious and brutish. And now this class, the lowest in the black social order was making life a misery for the South." As if the black proletariat were not also "the South."

These emancipated black workers, she tells us, were "like monkeys or small children turned loose among treasured objects whose value is beyond their comprehension" . . . "Few were actuated by malice . . . but they were, as a class, childlike in mentality and easily led . . ."

Slavery Was Best

Blandly Mrs. Mitchell repeats the old moss-grown falsehood that "It was the large number of outrages on women and the ever-present fear for the safety of their wives and daughters that drove southern men to cold and trembling fury and caused the Ku Klux Klan to spring up overnight."

For Yankee officers "only the prostitutes and Negro women had kind words." And again, "The Negro sluts seemed to try themselves whenever she drove by."

"Negroes," we learn, "had to be handled gently, as though they were children, directed, praised, petted, scolded."

"Negroes," the lament continues, "were completely out of hand . . . their new importance went to their heads, and . . . their outrages increased. No one was safe from them." "These Negroes sat in the legislature where they spent most of their time eating goobers and easing their unaccustomed feet into and out of new shoes." They "frolicked through the legislature." A vicious lie.

"No Georgian wanted trouble with the Negroes and they tried to avoid trouble." How? By terrorizing and murdering Negroes and legislating them into virtual slavery which endures to this day.

"Slaves," we learn, "were neither miserable nor unfortunate. The Negroes were far better off under slavery than they were now under freedom."

One of the freedmen she has say, "Ah done had nuff freedom. Ah wants somebody ter feed me good vittles reg'lar, and tell me whut ter do an' whut not ter do, an' look affer me w'en Ah gits sick."

No, this slave-conscious South has not gone with the wind. It died at Appomattox but promptly rose, phoenix-like from the ashes of defeat and today sits on the right hand of Uncle Sam in Washington. As it thought in 1861, so it thinks now.

"Gone With the Wind" is much too long, is cluttered with trivia and inconsequentialities, with special pleading, useless descriptions, wooden characters who jump like automatons; but it is eminently readable, bolsters southern white ego, is an effective argument against according the Negro his citizenship rights and privileges and sings Halleluja for white supremacy.

It WOULD be a best seller.

THE NEGRO WORKER and the C.I.O.

What does the sweeping movement of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) in the ranks of labor mean to the Negro worker?

In the August issue, John P. Davis, secretary of the National Negro Congress, who has been working with the C.I.O. will have an important article telling of what it is doing and what it proposes to do for all labor, regardless of color.

Dedication in Time of Crisis

By J. G. St. Clair Drake

The woe and calumny of cruel years
Heart-rending did not crush their spirits down;
And slavery's lash, evoking blood and tears,
While still their cross, bore promise of a crown.
The spiteful glance, the scornful Nordic sneers—
The murderous pack that, snarling, hemmed them 'round—
The crispy corpse that swung to fiendish cheers—
All failed to keep our fathers fetter bound.

We must not fail—the sons of men like these!
Nor cringe in terror bound by sickening fears.
The battle-axe with eager hands we seize;
Our day of destiny in glory nears!
Unborn, the future raises urgent pleas
That we fight on till victory appears.

Soldiers of the N.A.A.C.P.

By Edward Dejoie Burbridge

They stand at attention—
A chain of helping hands across the land
From end to end.
Soldiers! Soldiers of peace,
Seeking a greater peace among civilized men.
No guns have they
And yet they fight, silently, valiantly,
For those who cannot fight for themselves,
For men and women
Whom the monster prejudice awaited
Even before birth,
Waited to crush and early return
Unto the earth,
From whence they sprung.
Such sadness cannot be wept away,
Such grief in verse cannot be sung.
Oh God! Give them strength,
Make of them a glorious chain
That cannot, that will not be broken.
Let it pass the test of lynch-mad mobs,
That gather souvenirs
That gloat upon their victim's cries,
Press on, Soldiers, press harder
As each rope-victim dies.
And you! And you! Reach into your pockets
And gladly give,
To snatch an innocent soul in pawn,
March on, Soldiers of The N.A.A.C.P.,
So that the living, safely, may live on!

Install New Indexing System

A total of 148 WPA workers—69 men and 79 women—are now employed in installing a new "lot and square" system of indexing in the office of Dr. William J. Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, here. This project is one of a number that has been established in recognition of the need of Negro clerical white-collar workers for emergency employment.

Spingarn Medal to Walter White

THE twenty-third Spingarn medal for distinguished achievement by an American Negro has been awarded to Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The medal is made available each year by J. E. Spingarn, president of the N.A.A.C.P., to a committee to be awarded to the American Negro adjudged to have made the most distinguished achievement in the past year.

In awarding the medal to Mr. White the committee cited his personal investigation of 41 lynchings and 8 race riots and also his "remarkable tact, skill and persuasiveness" in lobbying for a federal anti-lynching bill, and concluded its findings with the statement: "In zeal for, and loyalty to his race, the committee believes Mr. White to be surpassed by no one else."

The complete statement awarding the medal follows:

"A graduate of Atlanta university, Walter White has been a valued and distinguished official of the N.A.A.C.P. since 1918 and its executive secretary since 1931. The author of two novels, and of an authoritative study of lynching and its psychology entitled "Rope and Faggot," Mr. White has personally investigated forty-one lynchings and eight race riots, sometimes at the risk of his life, often obtaining evidence of great value in the presentation of these cases in law courts or that of public opinion.

"In the last several years, he has devoted himself unsparingly, with remarkable tact, skill and persuasiveness, to the pushing through the Congress of the anti-lynching bill which, having passed the House, is now pending in the Senate. It is the testimony of experienced Washington observers that no better job of legitimate championship of a bill has been done in Washington in years. Undiscouraged by the defeat of the Costigan-Wagner bill by a seven-day filibuster in April, 1935, he succeeded in getting a vote of 277 to 119 on April 15, last, upon the Gavagan bill.

"During all this time, Mr. White has carried a large share of the executive work of the association, presented its case in public innumerable times, and has had a considerable part in bringing to successful issue in the Supreme Court some of the cases financed and sponsored by the N.A.A.C.P. In zeal for and loyalty to his race, the Committee believes Mr. White to be surpassed by no one else."

Oswald Garrison Villard is chairman of the Spingarn medal committee. Other members are: A. Philip Randolph, Theodore Roosevelt, Marion Cuthbert, James Weldon Johnson, Heywood Broun, Dr. William Stuart Nelson and Olive Tilford Dargan (Fielding Burke).

Other Spingarn medal winners:

1. **Professor E. E. Just**, head of the department of physiology of Howard University Medical School. Presented February 12, 1915, by Charles S. Whitman, Governor of New York. Award for researches in biology.

2. **Major Charles Young**, U. S. Army. Presented February 22, 1916, at Tremont Temple, Boston, Mass., by Samuel Walker McCall, Governor of Massachusetts. Award for services in organizing the Liberian constabulary and developing roads of the Republic of Liberia.

3. **Harry T. Burleigh**, composer, pianist, singer. Presented May 16, 1917, in Washington, D. C., by United States Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington. Award for excellence in the field of creative music.

4. **William Stanley Braithwaite**, poet, literary critic and editor. Presented May 3, 1918, in the First Baptist Church of Providence, R. I., by R. Livingstone Beeckman, Governor of Rhode Island. Award for distinguished achievement in literature.

5. **Archibald H. Grimké**, former U. S. Consul in Santo Domingo; President American Negro Academy; author; President of the District of Columbia Branch, N.A.A.C.P. Presented June 27, 1919, in Cleveland, Ohio, by Charles F. Thwing, President of Western Reserve University. Award for seventy years of distinguished services to his country and his race.

6. **William E. Burghardt Du Bois**, author; editor of "The Crisis." Presented June 1, 1920, on the campus of Atlanta University, by Bishop John Hurst. Award for the founding and calling together of the Pan-African Congress.

7. **Charles S. Gilpin**, actor. Presented June 30, 1921, in Detroit, Mich., at the 12th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. to Mr. Gilpin by proxy, as illness prevented his appearance, the presentation being made by a representative of the Governor of Michigan; later presented in New York City to Mr. Gilpin by Mr. Spingarn in person. Award for his achievement in the title role of Eugene O'Neill's play, "Emperor Jones."

8. **Mary B. Talbert**, former President of the National Association of Colored Women. Presented June 20, 1922, in Newark, N. J., by Rabbi Solomon Foster of Newark. Award for service to the women of her race and for the restoration of the home of Frederick Douglass.

9. **George W. Carver**, head of the Department of Research and Experiment Station of Tuskegee Institute. Presented September 4, 1923, at Kansas City, Kansas, by Hon. Charles B. Griffith, Attorney-General of Kansas. Award for distinguished research in agricultural chemistry.

10. **Roland Hayes**, singer. Presented July 1, 1924, at Philadelphia, Pa., by Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, Provost and President of the University of Pennsylvania. The presentation was by proxy due to the absence of Mr. Hayes in Europe. Personal presentation was made April 7, 1925, in New York City by Mr. Walter Damrosch of the New York Symphony. Award for "reputation which he has gained as a singer in England, Germany and France and especially in America where he was last year soloist for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, . . . and because in all his singing Mr. Hayes has so finely interpreted the beauty and charm of the Negro folk song."

11. **James Weldon Johnson**, former U. S. Consul in Venezuela and Nicaragua; former editor; Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. Presented June 30, 1925, by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. Awarded to Mr. Johnson as author, diplomat and public servant.

12. **Carter G. Woodson**, for ten years' devoted service in collecting and publishing records of the Negro in America, culminating in the publication of "Negro Orators and Their Orations" and "Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830." Presented June 29, 1926, by Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

13. **Anthony Overton**, "because of his success in a long business career and for the crowning achievement of securing the admission of the Victory Life Insurance Company as the first Negro organization permitted to do insurance business under the rigid requirements of the State of New York." Presented June 28, 1927, at Indianapolis, Ind., by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

14. **Charles W. Chestnutt**, for his "pioneer work as a literary artist depicting the life and struggle of Americans of Negro descent, and for his long and useful career as scholar, worker and freeman of one of America's greatest cities." Presented July 3, 1928, at Los Angeles, Calif., by Hon. Buron R. Fitts, Lieutenant-Governor of California.

15. **Mordecai Wyatt Johnson**, President of Howard University, "for his successful administration as first Negro President of the leading Negro University in America, and especially for his leadership in securing, during the past year, legal authority for appropriations to Howard University by the government of the United States." Presented July 2, 1929, at Cleveland, O., by Dr. Charles F. Thwing, President Emeritus of Western Reserve University.

16. **Henry A. Hunt**, Principal of Fort Valley High and Industrial School, Fort Valley, Georgia, "for twenty-five years of modest, faithful, unselfish and devoted service in the education of Negroes of rural Georgia, and to the teaching profession in that state." Presented July 1, 1930, at Springfield, Mass., by Dr. William Allan Neilson, President of Smith College.

17. **Richard Berry Harrison**, "whose fine and reverent characterization of the Lord in Marc Connelly's play, 'The Green Pastures' has made that play the outstanding dramatic accomplishment of America in the year 1930. But the Medal is given to Mr. Harrison not simply for this crowning accomplishment, but for the long years of his work as dramatic reader and entertainer, interpreting to the mass of colored people in church and school the finest specimens of English drama from Shakespeare down. It is fitting that in the sixty-seventh year of his life he should receive widespread acclaim for a role that typifies and completes his life work." Presented March 22, 1931, by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York.

18. **Robert R. Moton, Tuskegee Institute.** Presented May 20, 1932, by Hon. Bronson Cutting, U. S. Senator from New Mexico.

19. **Max Yergan**, for ten years American Y.M.C.A. secretary among the native students of South Africa, "a missionary of intelligence, tact and self-sacrifice, representing the gift of cooperation and culture which American Negroes may send back to their Motherland; and he inaugurated last year an unusual local movement for interracial understanding among black and white students." Presented July 1, 1933, at Chicago, Ill., by Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

20. **Dean William Taylor Burwell Williams** of Tuskegee Institute "for his long service as field agent of the Slater and Jeanes fund and the General Education Board, his comprehensive knowledge of the field of Negro education and educational equipment and his sincere efforts for their betterment." Presented June 29, 1934, at Oklahoma City, Okla., by the Reverend J. Raymond Henderson, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga.

21. **Mary McLeod Bethune**, founder and president of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla. "In the face of almost insuperable difficulties she has, almost single-handedly, established and built up Bethune-Cookman College, which is recognized by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States as a standard junior college. In doing this she has not simply created another educational institution. Both the institution's and Mrs. Bethune's influence have been nationwide. That influence has always been on a high plane, directed by a superb courage. Mrs. Bethune has always spoken out against injustice, in the South as well as in the North, without compromise or fear."

22. **John Hope**, president of Atlanta university, characterized by the committee of award as "a distinguished leader of his race, one of the foremost college presidents in the United States, widely and favorably known throughout the educational world." Presented (posthumously) July 3, 1936, at Baltimore, Maryland, by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard university, to Mrs. Hope.

Richard Allen

(*Continued from page* 199)

ian colonizationist, it was benefited by a Congressional appropriation of $100,000. When two preachers, Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess, were sent by the society to explore the western coast of Africa for an eligible colonial site, they were dubbed "missionaries," because they were doing the missionary work of the churches. Within a few years the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Quakers, Baptists, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, and the Methodists, locally and nationally, had endorsed he "benevolent" American Colonization Society. Liberia was established, and its early flag had the same stripes as the American flag, but instead of the stars there was a white cross, which an officer of the United States Navy said was emblematic of the Christian philanthropy to which Liberia owed its origin.

Richard Allen could see what the society was doing and beyond it to the aggressiveness of slavery which had allied itself with American christendom. He knew that if he would continue to oppose forces that had made the Missouri Compromise possible, he would need the aid of kindred spirits. His friend Absalom Jones was dead in 1818; he could but count upon his denomination. To say that Richard Allen labored assiduously to build up the African Methodist Episcopal church as an end in itself does not fully represent him, for African Methodism was just one side of his philosophy. After 1821 he received no salary for his pastoral labors at the local Bethel. At sundry times he literally redeemed that church by loaning it a total of $20,500. Certainly he was hoping that African Methodists would stand by him in a crisis. The majority of them showed wisdom when they did uphold Allen, but some walked no more with him. Some statistics are available in Dr. Wesley's *Richard Allen*. In 1826 the African Methodist Episcopal church had 17 ministers for 33 churches and 7,937 members, and ten years later it had only 27 ministers for 86 churches and 443 fewer members. Richard Allen was a religious radical; he would not cooperate with colonizationists.

Room for All

Nevertheless, the colonizationist propaganda was still circulating as late as 1827 that Allen was going to reverse his position on African colonization. Then it was that John B. Russwurm, editor of the recently begun *Freedom's Journal*, asked Allen for his views for publication. Allen's letter of November 27, 1827, followed. In it he stated that American Negroes were unprepared to civilize others. African colonization was to him but a scheme to make slavery secure. "Is there not land enough in America, or 'corn enough in Egypt' "? he asked. "Why would they send us into a far country to die? See the thousands of foreigners immigrating to America every year; and if there be ground sufficient for them to cultivate and bread for them to eat why would they insist to send the tillers of the soil away? Africans have made fortunes for thousands, who are yet unwilling to part with their services, but the free must be sent away and those who remain must be slaves." David Walker quoted this letter from "that truly Reverend Divine of Philadelphia" in his famous abolitionist *Appeal*.

In the meantime the vehement anti-colonizationist protests which Richard Allen led provoked a mass meeting of colonists in Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa. They met at the court house on August 27, 1827, to unite "in an Address to the Coloured People of the United States." Titled gentlemen—in Africa—were addressing free Negroes of the United States. An indelible class distinction was intended to be made. John H. Folkes, Esq., presided over the meeting, in which Captain James C. Barbour, Captain F. Devaney, W. L. Weaver, Esq., the Reverend C. M. Waring, and George R. McGill, a recently arrived school teacher, were appointed a committee to prepare the address within a week.

It is doubtful whether this committee was capable of preparing "their" *Circular Address* which pointed out in such good English the political, social, economic, educational and religious advantages enjoyed by the colonists. They knew not for what "to pity" the free Negroes in America most. "Judge then of the feelings with which we hear the motives and doings of the Colonization Society traduced—and that too, by men too ignorant to know what that society has accomplished; too weak to look through its plans and intentions, or too dishonest to acknowledge either." The Maryland Colonization Society ordered 2000 copies of the *Address* printed for distribution with the proceedings of one of their meetings.

Free Negroes in America retaliated. Largely upon the initiative of a young Negro of Baltimore, Maryland, Hezekiah Grice, who cooperated with the venerable Bishop Allen, a convention was called to meet in Philadelphia on September 15, 1830. This meeting of "forty immortals" met at Bethel church, and Bishop Allen was elected the president. Twenty-six delegates from seven states, excluding twelve honorary members from four of these states and two honorary members from two other states, were present. The convention went on record as encouraging emigration to Canada, West, as an emergency measure against the grievous condition of Negroes in the United States, but it adopted "strong resolutions against the American Colonization Society." It was resolved to hold another convention in Philadelphia in June, 1831.

The convention of 1831 did not meet in Bethel. Richard Allen had died on March 31, but his anti-colonization cause became a rallying cry for other "friends of humanity," including the great Garrison. Through 1830 only 1,420 free Negroes had gone to Africa, and 319,467 of them were still in the United States. Colonization had been defeated. Negro Christians so well understood what Allen stood for that they were blinded to the possibilities of missionary labors in Africa, their popular denominations not beginning their modern missions there until after the Reconstruction. While Negro freedom remained yet to be won, it was Richard Allen's contention that "this land which we have watered with our tears and our blood is now our mother country, and we are well satisfied to stay where wisdom abounds and the gospel is free."

Green Bottle

(*Continued from page* 200)

sent to all the publishers. The company further announced new plans for hiring a large number of Negroes and treating them with the courtesy demanded.

Thus, almost unconsciously, the comparatively unschooled masses of Detroit's colored community brandished one of the finest and most dangerous social weapons within their reach and won a fight the like of which we very seldom see among us.

Surprising as it may seem, this spirit is not new to the citizens of the Motor City for, according to Dr. O. H. Sweet, and many other figures of former interracial battles, "Negroes in Detroit always stick together."

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Editorials

"Any Negro Will Do"

IT is a familiar and tragic story which comes from the lips of Attorney General Albert A. Carmichael of Alabama in the lynching of Wesley Johnson at Abbeville, Ala., February 1, 1937. Mr. Carmichael was appearing before the Alabama supreme court at the trial of Sheriff J. L. Corbitt, seeking to have the latter held on charges of negligence and cowardice. The court voted four to two to free Corbitt from all blame.

But the significance is that here for the first time in many years we have an admission by the highest law enforcement official of a state, before the state's highest court, that the wrong man was lynched. Said Mr. Carmichael: "We will be able to prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the mob got the wrong Negro." Chief Justice Johnson held this to be irrelevant to the question of whether the sheriff had or had not neglected to protect his prisoner.

However, Mr. Carmichael was able to get testimony into the record from the employer of Johnson that the dead man was four miles away washing a car at the time of the crime for supposed participation in which he was lynched. Carmichael also told the court that the sheriff had had to arrest some Negro in order to appease public opinion and that at the time he knew Johnson to be innocent.

Many times have the N.A.A.C.P. and other organizations fighting lynching made the statement that innocent men were put to death by mobs, often with the assistance of peace officers. Ofttimes these statements have seemed so incredible that they have been received with understandable skepticism. But here is the attorney general of a sovereign state, speaking not confidentially to a friend, but to the supreme court of his commonwealth, and asserting that an innocent man was deliberately thrown to the mob to quiet public opinion.

If Alabama had preserved, over these years, any honor in dealing with her black citizens this would be an occasion for shame that that honor had been sullied in so cowardly and foul a fashion. But to the Alabama of Scottsboro fame, to the Alabama of 375 lynchings since 1882, the snuffing out of the life of Wesley Johnson, innocent as he now stands proved to have been, is something its highest court can brush aside on a technicality.

Is it any wonder that the lovers of justice and the defenders of what remains of democracy are demanding that the federal government enact and enforce an anti-lynching law? The defenders of states rights have proclaimed that the "good" citizens are against lynching and will do something to stop it. But Alabama, in the Sheriff Corbitt case, has proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that although a hoodlum may pull the lynching rope or toss a match to a gasoline-drenched pyre, the "good" citizens, from the sheriff up to the supreme court, stand in the background in passive approval—even of murdering an innocent man.

Anti-lynching Bill Must Be Passed

THE anti-lynching bill now before the Senate must be passed at this session of Congress. Indications are that Congress will be in session at least until July 15 and very likely until August 15. That means there is time to pass the anti-lynching bill. It has been reported favorably out of the Senate sub-committee and is expected out of the full judiciary committee as this is being written. Write once again to your senators urging them to use all their influence with the Senate leadership to get the bill out on the floor for a vote.

When the Gavagan bill was before the House, Mississippi staged its horrible blow-torch lynching which spurred action on the bill. Now Alabama has refused to punish a sheriff who permitted a lynching despite evidence of guilt and evidence that the lynched man was innocent. The Alabama case should remove the last support from the Senators who argue for the states to handle these matters.

Appreciation

PRACTICALLY every magazine of propaganda for a cause fails to support itself because its circulation appeal is limited and advertisers, who make general periodicals profitable, are not in harmony with the editorial policies. THE CRISIS has needed financial assistance for the past ten years, for although the N.A.A.C.P. makes available enough money to keep the magazine alive, none is provided for expansion and improvement. In this situation a small group of New York City women stepped forward last spring and organized the New York CRISIS Committee. Preserving a wholly informal organization and working without fanfare this committee has raised in round figures, $500 for THE CRISIS. It has solicited sponsors who pay $5 a year for a subscription, and associate sponsors who pay $3 a year. It has given two benefit entertainments which have netted about $250 of the total raised.

As this committee closes its first year of work THE CRISIS desires to express editorially its appreciation of the aid given and to thank not only the committee members, but each sponsor and associate sponsor. The committee has outlined plans for next fall and winter calling for a series of educational meetings in addition to money-raising activities and some members hope (in which they are joined by THE CRISIS) that their efforts will inspire small groups in other cities to do likewise.

Blood for the Cause

THE battle between labor and the independent steel companies finds the Negro workers on the firing line, giving and taking. A Negro organizer for the C. I. O, has been beaten up and driven out of the town of Monroe, Mich. Steel, which has the worst labor record of any great American industry, is conducting open warfare against labor. The massacre of unarmed pickets by Chicago police during the Memorial day week-end gives an accurate picture of the fifty-years-ago ideas of the independent steel magnates and the stupidity and servility of city administrations in providing police to shoot down its own citizens who do not happen to own factories and mills. The activities of the "vigilantes" at Monroe are one with the Chicago police, the only difference being, perhaps, that the Monroe crew was paid directly by the Republic Steel company.

In this struggle of labor to organize and win the right of collective bargaining it is fitting that the Negro workers be represented in the front line trenches. There are 960,000 of them in industry, mostly in the unskilled and unorganized classifications. They have everything to gain and nothing to lose by affiliation with the C. I. O. and if they fight now, side by side with their white fellow workers, when the time comes to divide up the benefits they can demand their share.

The Oklahoma State Conference at Work

THERE are 172,198 Negroes in Oklahoma. They comprise 7.2 per cent of the population of the state. There are only three cities of any size as far as the Negro population is concerned: Tulsa leads with a colored population of 15,203, while Oklahoma City runs a close second with 14,662 and Muskogee comes third with 6,575.

In comparison with the neighboring states of Texas where Negroes are 14.7 per cent of the population, and Arkansas where the percentage of Negroes in the general population is 25.8 per cent, the Oklahoma Negro population is rather sparse. And yet, out of this sparseness there has been built up a powerful fighting machine in the struggle for Negro rights. Eighteen senior branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, nineteen youth councils and one college chapter have been welded together into a strong state conference of N.A.A.C.P. branches, which is the spearhead of activity in the fight for justice by the colored citizens of Oklahoma. Each branch unit is amazingly strong, meaning to its local community what the state conference means to the state—the channel through which stream efforts to improve racial conditions.

At the seventh annual state conference held at Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 17-19, attended by 180 delegates, a report of its history and progress was made.

The conference was organized in 1930 by the militant Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the *Black Dispatch*, member of the national board of directors of the association, known throughout the state for his pioneering leadership in the fight for equal rights.

One of the first cases which the conference undertook was that of Jess Hollins who was convicted for criminal assault upon a white woman on December 28, 1931, at a trial in the basement of the jail at Sapulpa, Oklahoma, held at night. He had no lawyers, friends, or advisers present. He was induced to confess and on the basis of that confession was immediately sentenced to death and rushed to the state penitentiary.

For a brief time the International Labor Defense was active in his case, but no move was made to appeal the conviction, and Hollins was sentenced to die on August 18, 1932.

Three days before the death date, the Oklahoma state conference of branches, with the cooperation of the national office, took up the case, secured a stay of execution, appealed to the Oklahoma supreme court and got a reversal of the conviction.

A second trial of Hollins resulted again in a conviction and sentence of death, but at this trial the question of Negroes being excluded from the jury was raised and appealed to the U. S. supreme court, which reversed the conviction and sent the case back to Oklahoma for a new trial.

At the third trial which ended February 28, 1936, the result was conviction and sentence to life imprisonment. Further appeal was prevented by the execution of a signed statement by Jess Hollins requesting the N.A.A.C.P. not to appeal his case.

But the right of a citizen, be he black or white, to a fair trial in the courts was definitely secured in this case. Moreover, Oklahoma courts became aware of the fact that Negroes were awakening and determined to fight to the hilt for this citizenship right.

However, it was the Oklahoma City residential segregation case which climaxed the faith of the people of Oklahoma in the importance of a state conference. In Oklahoma City, although Negroes are 8 per cent of the population, they occupy only four per cent of the housing units. On May 1, 1935, Governor William H. Murray of Oklahoma, in spite of this obvious crowded housing condition, issued an executive military order arbitrarily segregating the Negro citizens of Oklahoma City into certain areas. He declared to a committee of Negro citizens and newspapermen: "I know I have no law for this action, but I have the power and I am going to do it." The move grew out of the moving of a Negro family into a block in which there were no other Negro residents, and was fundamentally caused by the

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Some leaders and speakers at the meeting of the Oklahoma state conference of branches of the NAACP, held in Tulsa in May. Front row, left to right: A. Maceo Smith, Dallas; Dr. W. A. J. Bullock, Chickasha; John Harros, Philadelphia; Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City. Standing: O. Douglass, Okmulgee; Charles T. Brakens, Dallas; Charles H. Houston, New York; Clifford Johnson, Dallas

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

State Courts and Lynching

Norfolk, Va., *Journal and Guide*

TWENTY-YEAR old Alabama farm hand was taken from a county jail and lynched under circumstances which moved Governor Graves and Attorney-General Carmichael to institute impeachment proceedings against the sheriff in the State Supreme Court.

In the course of the investigation conducted by the governor and the attorney-general it developed that evidence was found to substantiate the claim that the man lynched had no connection with the crime with which he was charged.

Mr. Carmichael told the court "we will be able to prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the public indignation was so great that the sheriff was forced to arrest the wrong Negro."

The idea was not to press impeachment charges against the sheriff because the wrong man was lynched, however, but to show that in addition to unlawfully putting a man to death this particular mob had put to death the wrong man. That the sheriff had not only permitted a mob to lynch a man, but an entirely innocent man, making his position all the more untenable.

In the face of this situation what did the Supreme Court of Alabama do? It prevented the state from presenting the evidence, holding that "it was incompetent in the trial." The state contended, further, that the front door to the living quarters in the jail was left unlocked on the night of the lynching, giving the mob easy access to the prisoner.

In the face of all this, which the state argued it could prove "beyond a reasonable doubt," the Alabama Supreme Court acquitted the sheriff. That is fairly representative of all actions taken against all law officers that have permitted lynchings to occur in their jurisdictions.

It proves, again, the impotency of the judicial machinery of some of the states to punish any one for lynching.

A federal anti-lynching law could do no worse, and almost surely would bring about an improvement in the situation.

The recent Supreme Court decisions declaring constitutional Senator Wagner's National Labor Relations' law, the Social Security law, the minimum wage hours for women, offers for the Race, especially organized Race labor a bona fide, and real, if you please, a legal "land of promise" for us. This "New Deal" action gives the Race a new Magna Charta and an emancipation worthy of the name, guaranteeing and insuring to us for all future use a balance of power in labor and votes. . .—Chicago *Defender.*

The Baltimore *Sun* sent a reporter to visit the smaller storefront churches this week and poke fun at the Daddy Grace and Father Divine missions which conduct healings to the accompaniment of jazz orchestras, shouting, dancing, the sale of Daddy Grace cold cream, hair oil, etc.

Religion is a serious business and maybe colored people do take it too seriously. But if the lowly Nazarene were to return today and see what goes in our white churches he would not be enthusiastic about some of their religious practices either. . .

Jesus could not get into many a white church in Baltimore if he tried. The doctrine of humility and brotherly love hasn't been practiced in some of them for over a century. . . . —Baltimore *Afro-American.*

No discussion of anti-lynching legislation would be complete without investigating the equipment back of its opponents. The record of the Congress shows that the "No" votes came from Southern Democratic Representatives at the time the Gavagan bill was passed. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored people now has the names of 63 United States Senators who favor the passage of the Gavagan bill by the Senate. The southern Democratic Senators are conspicuous by their absence from the list. . .

Enlightened public opinion has become set against such suspension of law enforcement. The only obstruction against Federal intervention in the matter is created by a minority of people from those states proven to be the least enlightened in the Republic. Their clamors for States' Rights should be silenced by the terms of the Gavagan bill, which clearly puts the responsibility to prevent lynching upon the States, and brings in Federal intervention only when the States have failed to exercise their Rights. . .—Los Angeles *Age.*

Prominent Americans of both races met the other day at Tuskegee Institute to do honor to the scientific genius of George Washington Carver, and to unveil a bronze bust bought by dollar contributions of his admirers.

Too many honors cannot be heaped upon Dr. Carver for there are only a few men in this country who have equaled his contribution to national wealth and welfare.

He has discovered scores of every day uses for sweet potatoes, peanuts and trees, and developed from these products milk, ink, pigments, cosmetics, paper, peanut oil massage, imitation marble. He is the inventor of the process of using cotton for roads. A great painter, his canvases hang in great foreign art galleries, and both paints and canvas were self-developed by him. . .

Wherever Dr. Carver speaks regardless of the section of the country or the color of his audience he is enthusiastically received and listened to with the respectful attention genius deserves.

His life and work is an inspiration to countless thousands of youngsters throughout the country.

Many more years of useful work are ahead of him. His genius will continue to enrich agricultural chemistry and keep America forever in his debt.

Soon the Scottsboro case will again occupy the limelight. It is almost universally conceded that these martyrs to Alabama prejudice are absolutely innocent, but the ancient Pharaohs would not heed, and the modern Pharaohs are showing the same inflexibility. . .—Cincinnati *Union.*

The Richmond *Planet* again brings to the attention of its readers the fact that the registration of prospective voters in the August Primary and the November general election must be effected by July 1st. Only fifteen days remain for persons who have paid their poll taxes, but have failed to register, to comply with the Virginia election laws and to complete the requirement which will entitle them to vote in the primary and in the election in November. . .—Richmond *Planet.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Labor Leading Topic at Detroit Conference

BEGINNING with an address by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers on "The C.I.O. and the Negro Worker" scheduled for Wednesday night, June 30 and with a discussion of the C.I.O. by John P. Davis on Wednesday morning, June 30, labor becomes the leading topic at the 28th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Detroit, June 29-July 4 inclusive.

Further discussion of labor problems will be held July 1 when Howard Kester, organizer for the Southern Tenant Farmers Union will tell of the work among sharecropers and John C. Dancy, director of the Detroit Urban League, will discuss employment opportunities in Detroit, touching upon the record of Negro workers at the Ford Motor Company.

The opening mass meeting Tuesday night, June 29, will be held at the Cass Technical high school, 2421 Second Boulevard. L. C. Blount, president of the Detroit branch, will preside and a welcome address from Mayor Couzens will be given by Judge Ira W. Jayne, a director of the N.A.A.C.P. for many years. A welcome address for the branch will be given by Dr. James McClendon. The principal address of the evening will be given by Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the board of the N.A.A.C.P.

On the Wednesday night program, June 30, with Homer Martin will be Dr. Robert C. Weaver, adviser on Negro affairs for the Department of the Interior, who will discuss further plans of the government for the minority and under-privileged groups. The day-time sessions on Wednesday, besides Mr. Davis's talk on the C.I.O., will include discussions of relief and social security by Alfred E. Smith, of Washington, D.C.; Fred B. Jones, Detroit, Mich.; and Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Ga. Also on Wednesday will be a discussion of education, particularly the fight against educational inequalities which has been conducted by the N.A.A.C.P. Leaders for this discussion will be Professor Doxey A. Wilkerson of Howard University, Washington, D.C., and Leon A. Ransom of Washington, an attorney who has assisted the national office in prosecuting a number of education suits.

Thursday, July 1, in the morning will be the discussions of Howard Kester and John C. Dancy on agricultural and industrial problems respectively. Wed-

The executive committee and membership campaign workers of the Detroit branch have completed all plans for entertaining the 28th annual conference June 29-July 4. Seated, left to right: H. S. Dunbar, chairman housing committee; A. E. Devere, treasurer; Dr. W. A. Thompson, chairman conference steering committee; L. C. Blount, president; Dr. J. J. McClendon, vice president; Mrs. W. A. Thompson, chairman finance committee; Gloster B. Current, chairman youth councils. Standing: J. Will Cooper, Dr. A. C. Toodles, Rev. R. L. Bradby, R. Louise Henderson, chairman women's auxiliary; Rev. H. A. White, Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary; C. W. Gaines, chairman citizens' committee; Mrs. C. S. Smith, L. A. Millben, chairman CRISIS committee

nesday and Thursday afternoon sessions will be given over to reports of delegates from branches on the activities of the past year. Reports also will be given at this session by delegates from youth councils.

The Thursday night session, July 1, will be known as youth night and a mock trial of America for her prejudice against Negro youth will be staged. The principal address of the evening will be given by President J. E. Spingarn of the N.A.A.C.P. Miss Cernoria Johnson of Oklahoma City, Okla., will preside.

The Friday morning session, July 2, will be given over to a discussion of disfranchisement and plans for securing the vote in sections of the country where colored people are now denied it. Roscoe Dunjee, of Oklahoma City, Okla., will preside. The Friday afternoon and Saturday morning sessions will be devoted to discussing organization problems of the N.A.A.C.P. and plans for making the work more effective. Saturday morning the members of the nominating committee will be elected, resolutions will be adopted and the report of the committee for the time and place of the 1938 conference will be voted upon.

The Friday night session, July 2, will witness the presentation of the 23rd Spingarn medal to Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, by Governor Frank Murphy of Michigan. Governor Murphy is a member of the national board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P. and eleven years ago sat as the judge of the recorder's court in the famous Sweet trial.

The meeting on Sunday evening, July 4, will be held at the Cass Technical high school auditorium and will be featured by addresses by Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan, sponsor of the anti-lynching bill, and Walter White. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin will preside.

All the mass meetings except the opening meeting Tuesday night and the closing meeting Sunday afternoon will be held at Ebenezer A.M.E. church, Willis and Brush Streets, where the daytime sessions will also be held and where the conference headquarters will be located.

For Saturday afternoon and evening, July 3, the Detroit branch has prepared an outing for the delegates to Belvedere Park, Michigan, where there will be boating, fishing, swimming, games, dancing and refreshments. The youth councils of Detroit have arranged a fellowship dinner for the youth delegates to be held Thursday afternoon, July 1, at six o'clock. Following the meeting that night the youth councils will entertain the visiting delegates at a dance.

The radio broadcast for the young people will be staged at 2:30 p.m. July 1 and a broadcast of the speech of Congressman Gavagan will be staged Sunday afternoon, July 4.

President L. C. Blount of the Detroit branch relaxes at home with Mrs. Blount, their daughters, Constance and Mildred, and his favorite magazine. Mr. Blount, whose hobby is photography, took this picture himself

President L. C. Blount, his executive committee, and a general conference committee, have spared no pains in preparing for a large conference. President Henry W. Sweet of the Michigan State Conference of Branches has cooperated. In fact, all branches in the State of Michigan are prepared to see that the delegates to the 28th annual conference have a successful meeting and also a pleasant visit.

Congressman Gavagan Makes Country-wide Tour

Beginning with a mass meeting May 28 in Louisville, Ky., and ending with a mass meeting in Harlem, June 10, Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan, sponsor of the anti-lynching bill, and Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., made a nation-wide speaking tour in support of the bill. The Louisville meeting drew an unusually large number of white people. State Senator Mayer spoke and Judge Cavanagh presided. The next meeting was held in Kokomo, Ind., May 30, during the sessions of the Indiana State Conference of Branches and the audience of 200 persons contributed $175 to the anti-lynching fund. The St. Louis meeting was held May 31 under the auspices of the St. Louis branch and on June 1 in the DuSable high school in Chicago a huge meeting heard Congressman Gavagan and Mr. White. The meeting was arranged by the Chicago branch.

Before taking the long trip to Los Angeles, a meeting was held in Kansas City, Mo., June 2 in the Grand Avenue Temple where once again a large percentage of the audience was white.

In Los Angeles, June 4, Mr. Gavagan and Mr. White spoke over a specially arranged radio program over the Warner Brothers Station KFWB. Clarence Muse, screen actor, also spoke, the Hall Johnson choir sang and Leonardi's orchestra played. At the mass meeting Sunday afternoon, June 6, in the downtown First M.E. church, 4,500 people crowded the auditorium to hear the speakers. A substantial collection was taken for the anti-lynching fight. Mr. Gavagan and Mr. White returned to the East and on June 10 spoke to 1,500 people in Abyssinian Baptist church in Harlem. The tour succeeded in arousing additional sentiment for the passage of the anti-lynching bill in the Senate and demonstrated that the anti-lynching bill is desired not only by colored people, but by white people in the North, South, and far West.

Expect Decision Soon in Missouri U. Case

Argument was heard by the Missouri supreme court on May 18 in the case of Lloyd Gaines vs. the University of Missouri in which Gaines is seeking to be admitted to the law school of the state university.

Argument for Gaines was made by Sidney R. Redmond of St. Louis, member of the N.A.A.C.P. board of directors, and Charles H. Houston of New York, special counsel of the association.

Counsel for the university, which consisted of three of the largest law firms in the state of Missouri located in St. Louis, Kansas City and Joplin, raised the old cry of social inequality in arguing against the admission of Gaines.

(Continued on next page)

They maintained that Gaines should seek to have the state establish a law school at the state Negro school, Lincoln University, and not seek admission to the law school at the state university. They charged that the Gaines case was a part of a campaign by the N.A.A.C.P. and the N.A.A.C.P. lawyers admitted that it was an effort by the association to assist colored students who wished to secure their rights in tax supported educational institutions.

Henry D. Espy, St. Louis attorney and former president of the St. Louis branch, was associated with Messrs. Redmond and Houston.

Inequalities Inevitable in Separate Schools, Says Court

In handing down its opinion, May 26, ruling against the admission of a colored girl to the high schools in Catonsville, Md., the Maryland court of appeals asserted that the existence of a system of separate schools "involves allowances of some incidental differences, and some inequalities, in meeting practical problems presented."

The suit was brought because the school board in Baltimore county maintains eleven high schools for white children and none for Negroes. The colored children are sent into Baltimore city to the separate colored high schools there, but not all of them receive this education because the county school board gives them an examination supposedly to determine how many are eligible to attend high school in the city. Since the county appropriates only so much money for tuition for Negro students in the city high schools, only the number of colored pupils which can be cared for by the appropriation are allowed to pass the examination. Prior to the filing of this suit, the county school board made no allowance for transportation, but now appropriates 10¢ a day.

A statement from the N.A.A.C.P. pointed out the significance of the court's opinion on inequalities in separate schools. The association has maintained from its beginning that separate schools mean inferiority and inequality for the Negro students and here is an opinion from the highest court in Maryland stating that inequalities are inevitable in a separate school system. The N.A.A.C.P. believes that this statement should rally the forces opposed to Jim Crow schools to continue the fight against their spread into the North and eventually to wipe them out wherever they exist.

Thurgood Marshall, assistant special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., was chief counsel in the high school case.

MRS. LENA MITCHELL HUGHES
Director Division A in Pittsburgh Membership Campaign

WILLIAM A. ARVIN
Director Division B in Pittsburgh Membership Campaign

Pittsburgh Campaign Raises $1,760.38

The spring membership campaign of the Pittsburgh branch netted $1,760.38: the highest amount reached by this branch since the depression years. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary, who directed the campaign, was assisted by Mrs. Homer S. Brown as co-director.

Division A, composed of twelve women captains under the leadership of Mrs. Lena Mitchell Hughes reported $1,080.60. Division B, led by W. A. Arvin with ten teams headed by men, reported $608.15. The report from the youth division was $26.50. The report by teams were as follows:

Division A: Mrs. Homer S. Brown, $271.60; Mrs. Lollie B. Hightower, $66.00; Mrs. Margaret Strothers, $66.30; Mrs. E. H. Robinson, $143.00; Miss Jean Nelson, $135.75; Mrs. Pauline Jones, $46.60; Mrs. C. S. Whitaker, $58.00; Mrs. H. R. Primas, $84.00; Mrs. Cora Williams, $17.00; Mrs. Carrie Wright, $46.50; Mrs. Alma Illery and Miss Mary Wade, $63.85; Mrs. Ira Lewis and Mrs. Winifred O. Houston, $82.00; total, $1,080.60.

Division B: W. A. Arvin, $76.50; Howard McKinney, $58.65; E. E. Utterback, $73.00; Benjamin McLin, $91.50; C. H. Lynch, $40.00; Malvin Goode, $69.50; J. E. Phillips, $77.50; Ivory Cobb, $12.50; Richard L. Porter, $52.00; Dr. McKinley King, $57.00; total, $608.15.

Youth Division, $26.50.

Branch News

Appeal to Branches

To the Editor of The Crisis:—This is a direct appeal to branch correspondents. Please let us have more news from you on how you are combatting racial discrimination. Let us know what you are doing to enlist white as well as colored members.

Other branches will stand to profit considerably if they can be informed what your particular branch is doing to solve important problems.

What is going on in Alabama, Arkansas, Oregon, and Massachusetts? Can't we have more than just a report that a regular meeting was held and somebody talked?

David H. Pierce

Cleveland, Ohio.

The **Boston, Mass.,** branch has petitioned Governor Hurley to bar the extradition of Eugene Wilson to Georgia where he is wanted as a fugitive from a chain gang. Wilson escaped from the chain gang in 1923 and has been living in Boston for twelve years. He was convicted originally for having paid $15 for a quantity of stolen goods and was sentenced to 28 years on the chain gang. Irwin T. Dorch is president of the branch.

The **Little Rock, Ark.,** branch sponsored observance of Memorial Day at Fraternal Cemetery. The Walter E. Parker Post, V.F.W., and Boy Scouts participated in the program and the Rev. E. C. Dyer, pastor of the First Baptist church, gave the Memorial address.

The Rev. E. A. Pharr of New Haven was the guest speaker at the regular monthly meeting of the **Bridgeport, Conn.**, branch May 24.

The Rev. L. L. Goolsey addressed the **Pueblo, Colo.**, branch June 6. Others on the program were Miss Melba Croom, Miss Martha Moore, Miss Bessie Jones, Miss Elizabeth Emgrem and Mrs. U. S. Hicnman.

The **Marion county, W. Va.**, branch elected delegates to the annual conference at its meeting June 6.

The Rev. W. Roy Hashinger, pastor of the Lutheran church, was the principal speaker for the **Monongalia, W. Va.**, branch at its meeting in Morgantown June 6. John Edwards spoke on the anti-lynching bill and John Marbury presided.

The **Waterloo, Ia.**, branch elected Milton Fields a delegate to the Detroit, Michigan, conference and Dr. L. B. Ferguson alternate at its meeting in May. The enrollment of 35 new members was announced. Jack M. Logan, superintendent of East schools spoke.

Miss Barbara Gandy of Virginia State college was awarded the first prize of twenty-six pieces of silver in a contest conducted by the **Petersburg, Va.**, branch and Miss Roxie Taylor was awarded second prize of a pottery lamp. Professor H. E. Fauntleroy is president and Miss Dorothy V. Norris secretary.

The **Houston, Texas,** branch held a symposium May 23 on labor problems. The speakers were Roy Session for the C.I.O.; George Wilson for the A.F. of L. and C. W. Rice for Independent and Company Unions. A panel discussion followed the talks. The senior choir of the Antioch Baptist church where the meeting was held furnished the music.

Mrs. Sadie D. Harrison, superintendent of the Colored Industrial School at Marshallton, Dela., spoke for the **Wilmington, Dela.**, branch May 18.

The **Stamford, Conn.**, branch is planning to hold a Fourth of July Barbecue and Picnic.

The **Jamaica, N. Y.**, branch held an anti-lynching meeting May 23 at which the speakers were Samuel Allen, director of racial problems for the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, and Roy Wilkins, editor of THE CRISIS. Dr. J. A. Singleton, head of the Jamaica branch, presided.

The **State Conference of Branches of Texas** held a meeting in Dallas June 18 and 19 at which Roscoe Dunjee, member of the national board of directors and president of the **Oklahoma State Conference** was the principal speaker.

Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin assisted the **Grand Rapids, Mich.**, branch with its annual membership drive beginning June 8. The captains of the teams were: Mrs. Lula Johnson, Mrs. Katherine Larry, Mrs. Margaret Price, Mrs. Sarah Glover, Mrs. Lucy McElwee, Mrs. Helen Hardiman, Mrs. Vera Black, Mrs. Ora Lee Grant, Mrs. Howard Clarke, and the Rev. Albert C. Keith.

Mrs. Alma Webster, Mrs. Marie Sublett and Mrs. Anna Robinson formed the committee which staged a benefit card party for the **Springfield, Ill.**, branch May 21.

The **Danville, Ill.**, branch installed its new officers at a meeting May 25.

Dr. Mark DeLeon of Mount Vernon was the speaker for the **White Plains, N. Y.**, branch at this meeting May 16.

The Youth Council of the N.A.A.C.P.

By Walter White

THE Youth Council offers an opportunity for young people between the ages of 16 and 25 to work together on the problem of racial advancement to which the N.A.A.C.P. is dedicated. It offers an opportunity, too, for the N.A.A.C.P. to get into its membership large numbers of young people who might not otherwise join. It is important to recognize that the Youth Council is a part of the N.A.A.C.P., not separate from it. They form one unit in the community. The members, young and old, are members of one organization, but they meet and carry on activities in separate sections at times because the needs and interests of the different age groups vary. At other times they work and carry on activities together because their purpose is the same.

People ask, "Why have a separate Youth Council?—Why can't the young people come right in with the older people?" One answer to that question is that they can! In some places the younger people will be very happy working in the same group with the older people. In communities where the numbers are few it usually works better to have the groups together.

Sometimes, young people do not get enough training in carrying responsibility when the older people are the officers and the committee chairmen. Sometimes, young people do not have confidence to take initiative in a group where most of the members are older and have had long experience. Sometimes, the interest of the groups is different. Other times, the young people feel that the older people want to continue doing things the way they have always done them. The young people would like to try a different way.

Having the Youth Council and the adult groups part of the same organization offers the strength of numbers and makes possible all sorts of cooperative activities, combining experience with new enthusiasm. Also, since they are all a part of the same organization, it will seem very natural for the young people to take their places in the adult group when the time comes. From time to time there will be pieces of work which the two groups can do together. For instance, there will be an advantage in joint publicity. Perhaps representatives from both groups can work on this together. Sometimes the group will want to give entertainments together or other money raising events. In order to preserve the sense of belonging to the same organization and in order to promote cooperation, it is important to have the president of the Youth Council on the executive committee of the branch and a representative from the senior branch on the executive committee of the Youth Council.

It will help very much to have two or more members of the Youth Council on the branch executive committee. If there is just one, that one will often lack confidence to take part, or else he or she will feel the responsibility just to speak for the Youth Council. It is important for the young people on the executive committee to bring the point of view of their age group to all the problems of the branch and not just to speak when it is a question concerning the Youth Council. This is more apt to happen when more than one representative of the Youth group is present.

Happy, indeed, are those young people who are given the opportunity to work together for a cause and who have the help and encouragement of more mature people working for the same cause. Many older people will enjoy this new opportunity to work with younger people. The whole N.A.A.C.P. will profit, for the Youth Council will bring new life and new energy into the whole organization. The life of that community is enriched where younger people and older people work together on an important enterprise.

Ira T. Chaplain, superintendent of schools, was the guest speaker for the **Elizabeth, N. J.**, branch at its meeting May 16. Dr. J. T. Davis is president.

The **Columbus, Ohio,** branch had B. F. Hughes as its guest speaker May 23.

The **Akron, Ohio,** membership drive is under the direction of T. M. Fletcher. Secretary of the campaign committee was Samuel Sheppard and Dr. John W. Dunbar treasurer. Hosea Lindsey is president of the branch.

Grant Gardiner was the general chairman of the membership campaign of the **Muskegon, Mich.**, branch which closed May 31. Recently elected officers of the branch are: president, Mrs. J. O. Garland; vice-president, Mrs. Corrie Mitchell; secretary, Mrs. Bertha Smith; and treasurer, Grant Gardiner.

Walter White was the speaker May 23 in York, Pa., for the Lincoln University Alumni Association.

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

Does Youth Need Religion?

By Harold E. Boysaw

Organized religion as represented by the church of today must change to meet a changing world, writes a student in a middle western college

IN our western civilization religion has been the mother of culture and has opened the way for world progress. Of course there are those who would say that our culture would have reached this high stage of development regardless of religion. There are a number of sound arguments that might be presented to maintain this contention but that still does not alter the fact that all our western culture was first started by religion. This is even true in the field of science since men were groping after truth when they laid the framework for the sciences.

Today it seems as though the world is severing relations with religion and has no need for it. It is very important that we decide whether or not we are going in the right direction or whether we youth of the country need to reestablish ourselves in our mother's household. It is imperative that we be prepared to do our bit in furthering the progress of the world.

I believe that we youth of today need religion and have never lost faith in religion as being basically necessary to help the world emerge from the chaotic state to which it has come. Religion is necessary to end war, personal unhappiness, the economic depression and to bring about world unity.

Religion Defined

It might be well for me to state what I mean by religion. It is faith and the worship of an ideal. According to this definition there are few who would deny that we youth need this. But when one speaks of the church then I take the stand that we youth do not need this organization of religion, unless it is radically transformed. The attitude of youth is not so much a violent rebellion against the church itself as a general indifference to any form of organized religion.

In the opinion of the younger generation the church fails to make contact with the realities of modern life. Today life is very swift and very startling. The world is changing not sedately but madly hour by hour. To our mothers and fathers life presented itself in a direct and ordered pattern; they accepted certain philosophical and social conceptions as irrefutable and from them derived mental stimulus and stability. For instance, they believed in an ordered world. They believed the institutions of their day were a means to universal happiness and security. They believed in capitalism and all its trappings, big business and private profit, in universal education and democracy as the ultimate goal in civilized achievement, and they were prone to believe that international peace and a world state were near at hand.

In the fast moving events of the years most of these faiths have been challenged and some even proven to be a delusion. We have seen democracies, through weaknesses, supplanted by dictatorships. We have seen collectivism replace the doctrine of individualism. And because of the virulent nationalistic spirit throughout the world, at any moment we are expecting to see Europe and probably all nations thrown into another debacle—war.

Here at home we have seen an economic structure based upon big business and rugged individualism fail. We know that their ideals, especially of mechanical supremacy, have resulted only in hunger and desperation for millions of people. We see our government running at top speed in preparation for another war. All this going on while the church sits complacently by giving its silent approval. The church is unconcerned about child labor, lynching, racial inequalities and the liquor traffic. It makes a few very weak attempts to express its disapproval of child labor, lynching and the liquor traffic, but very little is said, even superficially concerning racial inequalities. The church has prattled too long about brotherhood but has failed to be specific. It has been said that when a Negro walks into a white church religion flies out of the window.

These are some of the things that we youth see that cause us to deny the need of such organized religion in the future. With these glaring facts before us we have been forced to discard the truisms of our mothers and fathers. These are not just braggadocio of youth trying to put itself in the limelight nor is it cheap cynicism, but it is a very deep conviction coming out of the lack of the spiritual leadership of the church. We realize that if we are to complete our lives, we must find for ourselves a positive philosophy of life.

The Failure of the Church

And this we do not find in the church, which ignores the vital problems of this generation. The church is clinging to the past. It is more interested in preserving its dogma and ritual than in meeting the challenge of a changing world. I would like to say that we have deep respect for the history of the church. We respect its dignity and splendor, and beauty of the liturgy, mellow in reverence of generations. It is not the beauty of the church which we discredit, but rather its bigotry. At a time when we need real religious leadership the church is absorbed in petty bickering.

The test of the usefulness of the church is not its beautiful exterior, but its spirit of social service. What we need is a rational liberal religion, one of friendship not restricted to race, creed or color. And the task of this honest religion would be to maintain for man direction and meaning in his life not only against the encompassing chaos of a world moving at an appalling speed but even more against the confusion of the immediate social system.

As I said we do not need the religion we have all known that is exemplified by the church. We find the privileged classes, who have formed most of the church constituency telling the workers and the rural faithful, whose education has not been sufficient to make clear what is going on, to look to their churches to provide a haven of refuge. There is no reason to believe that these conditions will disappear until we have a transformation of the institutions and liquidate the classes who formed them.

As we look ahead we can see the need of a rational religion. We see war, depression, and environing social chaos increasing and we believe we will persist in looking behind it all for spiritual order. And we believe we will find more rather than less meaning in the faith of Jesus. There is no religious symbolism quite so perfectly in harmony with the experience of revolutionary periods as that of a faith which involved death that it might issue in triumph.

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N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

"We Build Together a World of Justice, Freedom, and Equality"

Theme, Youth Section of the 28th Annual N.A.A.C.P. Conference

Detroit Ready for Youth Section of Conference

The Detroit Youth Councils under the leadership of Gloster B. Current, chairman of the central youth council committee, have completed their preparations for the youth section of the 28th annual conference of the association.

Registration will take place at the conference headquarters, Ebenezer A.M.E. church, Willis and Brush streets.

Opening Meeting. The Youth section of the conference opens formally Tuesday, June 29, at 7 p.m. with a "key-note" meeting of youth delegates in the lecture room of Ebenezer A.M.E. church. Greetings to the youth section will be brought by Walter White, national secretary of the Association. The purpose and goals of the conference and what is expected of youth delegates will be discussed by the director of the youth work of the Association, Juanita E. Jackson. Delegates will go in a body at 8 p.m. to the auditorium of the Cass Technical High School to the opening mass meeting of the conference.

The Youth section will hold separate sessions from 9 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Wednesday to Friday. The youth delegates will meet jointly with the senior branch delegates at the afternoon sessions and evening mass meetings, and from 10:30 to 12:30 at the closing business session Saturday morning, July 3.

Discussion Groups. There are five discussion groups: Problems of the Young Negro Worker; Problems of the Young Negro Student; Problems of the young Negro citizen; Problems of Physical Security; Problems of Organization, Promotion and Publicity.

Discussion Leaders. Leaders for the discussion group will be: J. G. St. Clair Drake, instructor in sociology at Dillard university, New Orleans, La., 1937 recipient of Rosenwald Fellowship for graduate study at the University of Chicago, on "Problems of Physical Security—Lynching;" Lawrence D. Reddick, General Education Board fellow at the University of Chicago where he is working on his doctorate, former head of the history department at Kentucky State College and a member of the faculty at Dillard University, on "Problems of the Young Negro Citizen;" James H. Robinson, graduate of Lincoln University, senior fellowship student at the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, member of the N.A.A.C.P. board of directors, on "Job Opportunities" in the area of "Problems of the Young Negro Worker;" Moran Weston, graduate student in the N. Y. School for Social Research, and supervisor in the Emergency Relief Bureau, New York City, on "The Government and the Young Negro Worker;" the director of youth work in the association, Juanita E. Jackson on "Problems of Organization, Promotion and Publicity."

Youth Day. Thursday, July 1, will be emphasized as Youth day of the conference. At 2:30 in the afternoon there will be a broadcast over radio station WJR with the Ford Dixie Eight furnishing the music.

At 6:00 p.m. a Fellowship Dinner will be held at the Lucy Thurman Y.W.C.A., St. Antoine and Elizabeth streets.

At 8:00 p.m. the youth mass meeting will be held at Ebenezer A.M.E. church, Willis and Brush streets.

At 11:00 p.m., the youth dance will take place.

There will be frateral delegates from national youth organizations. Among them is a young sharecropper from the Southern Tenant Farmers Union who will remain during the entire conference.

Charter Applications

At the May meeting of the board of directors, charters were granted to the following groups: Tulsa, Okla., junior council; St. Petersburg Fla., council; Montclair, N. J., council; Virginia Union university college chapter, Richmond, Va.; and the Morris Brown college chapter, Atlanta, Ga. At the June meeting charters were granted to college chapters at Allen university, Columbia, S. C., Shaw university, Raleigh, N. C., and Fisk university, Nashville, Tenn.; as well as to youth councils at Gary, Ind., Detroit, Mich., East Side group; Port Huron, Mich.; Morristown, N. J.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Jamaica, N. Y.; Youth Council No. 1, New York City; Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Gastonia, N. C.; Youngstown, Ohio; Middle Creek School, Dustin, Okla.; Idabel, Okla.; Media, Pa.; Philadelphia, Pa.

Fisk University Urges Summer Activity

The Fisk University college chapter in closing its activities for the school year has urged each student member to become active in branches and youth groups of the association in the communities where they will spend the summer months. Where no branches or youth councils exist, it has been suggested that students take the lead in forming youth groups.

In a complete report of the year's work sent in by Clarence P. Reid, president, and Ruth Johnson, corresponding secretary, it is revealed that the chapter has had a well organized program during the past year and has been a center of education and action on the campus. A successful membership campaign was put on in which the slogan "Fifty at Fisk" was realized.

Students received first hand information about the University of Tennessee case and the educational program of the association when the chapter presented Leon A. Ransom and Charles H. Houston at special chapel hours. The chapter was one of the many protest groups that worked to amend the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Education bill.

The problems of the sharecropper and the southern tenant-farmer received consideration by the student body when

(*Continued on next page*)

Some of the 105 delegates to the Oklahoma State Youth Conference at Tulsa

the chapter sponsored an interracial forum with Dr. Charles H. Johnson speaking on "American Cotton Tenancy." A later forum featured Rev. John Knox, associate editor of the Christian Century, who presented some aspects of the Sherwood Eddy Cooperative Farm.

Participation in the fight to pass the federal anti-lynching bill was one of the features of the chapter's activities. A campus-wide student anti-lynching demonstration was held on February 12.

Moreover, the chapter has constantly worked to inform the students of the work of N.A.A.C.P. J. Wiley Brown, graduate student of the University led a forum discussion on the subject: "The Function of the N.A.A.C.P. in Student Life." Literature about the national program of the Association has been distributed around the campus. A contribution of $19.35 has been sent to the national office.

Mrs. Charles S. Johnson and Dean William J. Faulkner are the sponsors of the college chapter. Other officers are: Wylene Johnson, recording secretary; Shirley Foley, treasurer; Bernice M. Young, assistant treasurer; Rollins Winslow, chairman of program committee; Raleigh Morgan, chairman of speakers bureau; and Mrs. Mayme Upshaw Foster, chairman of dramatic division.

Boston Young People Raise $405 in Drive

During the recent membership campaign of the Boston branch, the youth division under the leadership of Commander Charles Quick, second year student in Harvard university law school rivalled the adult divisions and raised $405.50 in memberships. The division was well organized into teams consisting of captains and workers.

The largest individual and team amounts were brought in by Miss Myrtle Campbell, stenographer in the Massachusetts State House, who personally brought in more than seventy dollars. Her team raised more than one hundred dollars.

Other captains who worked especially well were: Julia Lewis, Frank Silvera, Dorothy Mealey, Roger Williams, Victor Bynoe, and Dwight Kyle. Individual workers who made outstanding reports were: Annie Laurie Nicholson, Katherine Watson, Louise Manuel, Samuel Countee, James Jones, Ethel Stewart, Theresa Alexander, Helen Smith, Ruth Worthy, Maud Thomas, Edith Washington, Gladys Reddick, Vivian Ingraham, Beatrice Byrd, Irma Ferguson, Margaret O'Banyoun, Eleanor Robertson, George Wellington, Leon Wright, Florence Majors, Edwina Bryant, Reynold Costa, Henry Deas, Theodore Whitfield, Robert Harrington, Karl Downs, Alvin Andrews, Willard Ransom, Alphonzo Irving, Rita Campbell, Hazel Campbell, Natalie Smith, Leon Hayes, George Reed, and D. D. Louis.

MISS JULIA LEWIS
President, Boston youth council

The youth council made a tour of the faculties and students of the various universities in the Boston area, visited all of the youth organizations in churches, met fraternities, sororities, social clubs, lodges and political youth organizations for memberships. There was a well set up speakers bureau under the direction of Seaton Manning which had N.A.A.C.P. youth speakers at all church services, dances, public meetings, and organization meetings during the campaign. Reynold Costa, assistant commander, reached the Ford Hall Forum, the Boston Community Church, NYA and WPA groups.

One of the reasons for the sustained and well-organized programs and activities is the leadership which the youth council has had in its president Miss Julia Lewis. She is a graduate of Sargent School of Physical Education and Boston university, and a supervisor of recreation in Boston. The Youth council has had the close cooperation of the senior branch and its president, Irwin T. Dorch.

Talladega Chapter Ends Active Year

With 75 paid members on the roll, the Talladega college chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. completed a year's well rounded program with the election of Miss N. V. Gibbs, of Buffalo, N. Y., as their delegate to the youth section of the 28th annual conference of the Association.

The chapter got off to a good start under the leadership of William Boyd, its president, with a monthly series of open forums. In November, Juanita E. Jackson, director of youth work of the Association from New York City, discussed "The N.A.A.C.P. and What It Means to College Students." A symposium on the problems of Negroes was the activity during December. Candida Kranold discussed "The Negro in Education;" Camella Jamison, "The Economic Status of the Negro;" Meravie Gibbs, "The Negro and Religion." In January there was featured "An Analysis of the Herndon Case," with the discussion led by L. W. Voorhees. The month of February was spent in putting over the National Youth Demonstration Against Lynching, and the sale of anti-lynching buttons. "The Possibilities of Bi-Racial Faculties for Institutions of Higher Learning," was the subject of the discussion led by I. A. Henninger and Reed E. Jackson.

The chapter raised ten dollars from the sale of stop-lynching buttons and has contributed a total of $38.01 towards the support of the national program.

A literature cabinet was installed in the library by the college chapter as a means of circulating more widely NAACP literature.

The chapter's demonstration against lynching was especially well done. The entire week of Feb. 8–12 was given over to anti-lynching activities. An essay contest was sponsored on the subject: "Why I Want the Anti-Lynch Bill Passed". The winner was Lillian Duncan. The chapel hours were given over to the chapter for emphasis on the problems of Negro life, culminating in the anti-lynching demonstration.

Other officers of the chapter are: Catherine Cater, vice president; Ophelia Taylor, corresponding secretary; Joan Fraser, recording secretary; and Sidney Johnson, treasurer.

Philadelphia Youth Council Active

On Sunday, May 30, the Philadelphia, Pa., youth council in an open meeting made clear the aims, history and work of the association to over 150 young people at the Y.W.C.A., 1605 Catherine Street. Juanita Jackson, national director of youth councils, discussed the work of the N.A.A.C.P. She gave brief accounts of the present fight for the passage of the federal anti-lynching bill and for equal educational opportunities.

Miss Jackson was presented to the

audience by Mrs. Annie L. McDougald, adviser of the group. Formal application for their youth council charter was made by the members.

Arthur Thomas told of the successful work of the senior branch in fighting discrimination at Temple university, and his admittance to the school as a result. A report was made of the active cooperation of youth members of the association in the membership campaign of the senior branch.

The program committee announced the forthcoming sport dance which will be held in an attempt to raise funds for sending a representative to the youth section of the annual conference in Detroit, June 29–July 4. Plans for a garden party and rummage sale were put into effect. The officers are: Marion Wilson, president; Gwendolyn Pascoe, vice president; Anne Butler, recording secretary; Evelyn Carrington, corresponding secretary; Arthur Thomas, treasurer.

Fights for Passage of Anti-Lynch Bill

The Montgomery, West Virginia, youth council has been aiding the association in the fight for the enactment of federal anti-lynching legislation. Ethelda Paris, the president, reports the group as busy preparing to attend the national conference.

Reports $32.40 from Button Sale

Willard Brown, president of the Charleston, W. Va., youth council, reports $32.40 from the sale of Stop-Lynching buttons. The group has held regular monthly meetings and is sending three delegates to Detroit.

Social Equality Cry Raised at Ohio State

As a result of a forum on race relations during which H. Stratton Hopson, president of the Columbus, Ohio, youth council, spoke on the program of the N.A.A.C.P., representatives of the American Student Alliance, the Socialist Club, the Y.W.C.A. and other campus groups interested in the question of discrimination against Negro students at Ohio State University formed a college chapter organization committee of the N.A.A.C.P.

When it became known that the chapter would investigate allegations of discrimination on the part of High Street restaurants, the women's dormitories, the Buckeye Club, the Tower Club and the university houses, and when a petition for recognition on the part of university authorities was circulated by the organization committee, immediately a petition seeking to thwart organization of the group was spread over the campus by a supposed organization named "The University Anti-Negro Guild."

The chairman of the college chapter organization committee, Miss Peggy Calbeck and the secretary, Miss Lillian Ward, report that an investigation is being made to ascertain the authors of the petition. However, they report that this "anti Negro" activity has served to strengthen interest of the students in the work of the N.A.A.C.P. The drive for membership and for recognition will be carried on with greater zeal when the university opens in the fall.

$5,450 Raised by Detroit, Cleveland

The spring membership campaign in Cleveland, Ohio, which was under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary, raised a total of $2,400 and a partial report from the campaign in Detroit, also conducted by Mrs. Lampkin, shows a total of $3,050.

Book Reviews

LET ME LIVE by Angelo Herndon. Random House, New York. $2.50

The penal institutions of this country are disproportionately filled with black prisoners. Some of them, like the Scottsboro boys, are guiltless of any crime. Others have been imprisoned for petty offenses. All have been victimized by a system which penalizes blackness and poverty and denies to a large number of people in this country, white as well as black, the elemental rights to employment, to decent housing, to health, to civil liberties, and to a standard of living commensurate with the country's capacity for production.

But of the thousands of black folk crowded into foul dungeons and brutalized on chain gangs, precious few have been imprisoned for consciously challenging the system and demanding an end of its vicious practices. This is most singular for a people disadvantaged as are Negroes in this country. The prisons of Russia, India, Ireland and other countries have been crowded with defiant souls who dared challenge constituted authority. From these prisons have emerged Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Gandhi, De Valera and hosts of lesser known men and women who faced not only imprisonment, but exile and death for the cause they espoused. But we Negroes in America have had all too few individuals who have been willing to pay that price for freedom.

It is his willingness—almost eagerness—to pay that price which distinguishes Angelo Herndon from the rest of us and makes the publication of his autobiography, "Let Me Live," a notable event in the history of the Negro race in this country. This 23-year-old lad is, as every one now knows, a Communist organizer—not the tea-sipping variety wont to waste long hours in involved theoretical discussions, but a man of determined action and unexcelled courage.

Already, at an age when most young men have just begun to look around for a career to follow, Herndon has written an imperishable page in history. In this volume, he records not merely the events of his life, but more significantly, he appraises the forces which shaped his life arousing in him, while still an adolescent, a deep resentment against the discrimination which he faced as a Negro and as a worker. With this resentment seething within him, Communist organizers in Birmingham found little difficulty in converting him to Marxism and helping him find his place in the class struggle.

The story of his arrest in Atlanta in 1932 for leading a demonstration of the unemployed, his dreary months in prison, his gallant fight for freedom, and the world wide response to this *cause celébre* are recorded with an extraordinarily fine sense of proportion and an understanding of the significance of the entire case. The Supreme Court decision (handed down after the book was published) liberated him from the 20-year sentence which the State of Georgia had imposed and vindicated his sublime faith in the power of the organized and aroused working class.

"Let Me Live" dramatically links the present with ante-bellum days. In this volume Herndon carries on the literary tradition of the narratives of Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown and other fugitive slaves who risked their all for freedom. The very anti-insurrection law under which he was convicted was aimed against the contemporaries of Douglass and Wells in the immediate post-war days. In a new age, the technique of oppression has somewhat changed, but its method is no less vicious. And living in a new age, Herndon's outlook is broader than his predecessors, his objectives of more universal social value, and his opportunities more extensive. His struggle, however, for a society free of exploitation and color discrimination can be no less relentless—and perhaps, in the end, no less bloody—than the fight for the abolition of slavery.

HENRY LEE MOON

THE NEGRO GENIUS by Benjamin Brawley. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.50.

It is now nearly twenty-five years since Prof. Brawley issued his *The Negro in Literature and Art*, a pamphlet of 60 pages. This was a pioneer effort, the first serious attempt to record under one cover the entire aesthetic contribution of the Negro to America. The pamphlet was revised and amplified into a book of 196 pages and published under the same title in 1918. The present work is an outgrowth of the former ones, completely rewritten, doubled in size and brought down to date. This work, like its predecessors, does not attempt to include all the writers, painters, sculptors and musicians of the Race, but only those whom Prof. Brawley considers most significant. The exclusion and inclusions of names are matters of individual judgment and taste on which no two persons could be expected to agree, but, one cannot help regretting the absence of any reference to the important group of Negroes in Louisiana writing in French and the casual treatment of the Negro orator whose work is so characteristic an expression of the genius of the Race. Then, too, one cannot consider the use of the portrait of

(*Continued on next page*)

an Englishman, Coleridge-Taylor as the happiest choice for the frontispiece of a book whose subtitle is "A new appraisal of the achievement of the American Negro in literature and the fine arts." Despite my admiration for the author, I cannot help deploring the occasional academic attitude of this book which causes him, for example, to ignore the popular musicians and to exclude serious discussion of the blues, jazz and the swing music to such an extent that it contains no mention of W. C. Handy who has influenced popular American music perhaps more than any other single composer of our day.

In spite of these shortcomings and its occasional inaccuracies, the book is an important and valuable contribution to the subject and is the best single work covering its field.

A. B. S.

Oklahoma Conference

(*Continued from page* 210)

rapid expansion of the Negro population.

Immediately the conference prepared a test case. Funds were raised all over the state. The case was carried to the supreme court of Oklahoma which invalidated the segregation ordinance, and set a precedent for all of Oklahoma.

At the present time, the state conference is tightening its ranks and preparing to fight the inequality of expenditures for the education of Negro children by the state. Muskogee has been selected for the test case. Preparations are attracting the attention of leaders throughout the South.

Much of the success which the Oklahoma state conference of branches has enjoyed is due to the extraordinary initiative, courage, and clear sightedness of its president, Mr. Dunjee. An unusual man is he. He was born at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, the son of Rev. John W. Dunjee, a slave who became a minister working for the American Baptist Missionary Society, and Lydia Ann Dunjee, born a free person who spent her early years as a domestic worker. At an early age Mr. Dunjee moved to Oklahoma with his parents, where the older Dunjee organized churches in the territory which had recently been opened to white settlement.

Because of the ill health and precarious financial condition of his father, young Dunjee was forced to leave school in the eighth grade in order to work for the support of the family. Yet, through his own enterprise and ingenuity, Mr. Dunjee has developed into one of the best informed men of the country. He has built up a weekly newspaper which, in the words of many leaders, is "the spokesman for Oklahoma Negroes." The *Black Dispatch* is noted for its vigorous editorial policy. With a circulation of more than 11,000, it continues to be the avenue through which the Negroes of the state find expression.

ROSCOE DUNJEE
President, Oklahoma State Conference

Mr. Dunjee has also been active in other movements throughout the state. In June, 1921, in cooperation with Governor J. B. A. Robertson, then the chief executive of the state, he helped organize the Oklahoma State Commission on Interracial Cooperation, of which he was the first secretary.

In 1922, he became a member of the executive committee of the National Negro Business League, and was later a regional director.

He has been a pioneer in the fight for the ballot in Oklahoma. In 1921 he spent two hours in jail during a fight to force the voting issue. He was taken away from the polling place where he held credentials as the "inside watch" and placed in jail on the vague charge of obstructing the election. But his action dramatized to Negro voters the necessity for using the ballot.

It was he who gave to the world the authentic actual story of the lynching of George Hughes in Sherman, Texas. At the risk of his life he drove into the city at 9:00 p.m. on the night of the lynching, when the court house was not through burning, secreted himself in the Negro section and found perhaps the only colored person in Sherman who saw the lynching, a Negro girl who went downtown with her white boss and his family, hidden in the back seat of the car. It was she who told the famous story of how the mob sang all night "Happy Days Are Here Again."

It is in the work of the N.A.A.C.P. to which he gives himself unsparingly that Mr. Dunjee has made the most vital contribution. It was he who cleverly got in to see Jess Hollins thirty hours before his execution and secured a signed statement turning over his case to the N.A.A.C.P., which resulted in saving his life.

It was his fearless testimony in the Oklahoma City segregation case which accounted for the victorious decision. He sat on the stand five and one half hours denouncing separate schools, Jim Crow, segregation, and finally proclaimed at length from the stand that whites and Negroes should have the right to marry.

The work of the Oklahoma state conference of branches and its leader is noteworthy in the annals of group achievement. It is a tribute to the power of organization.

J.E.J.

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Youth and Religion

(*Continued from page* 216)

A Rational Religion

Let it be remembered the Cross was originally the sign of a dreaded revolution. We youth are not afraid of change, nor are we so naive as to think that a rational religion is not necessary in the future. We do see that the organized religion of the church has miserably failed. It has been prating about being essential for world unity. When we look at the unity of the church, the only things we can see of which it has been the basic cause are: continual prejudice, hatred and even war between the different faiths bickering and wrangling when they should be setting a precedent to the world in unity and cohesion, regardless of race, creed or color. The religion we know today is only a false substitute for a real vital religion. This religion would be able to lead us spiritually and cope with our materialistic problems that are so swiftly engulfing us. This religion would practice brotherhood, would be void of dogma and it would help the world emerge from chaos because it would practice true friendship between nations. Men trained in this kind of religion would never have been parties to the Versailles treaty which has sown the seed for future wars.

This is the kind of religion we want; we are through with the organized religion of the church which we find prone to continue to try to meet problems in terms of the past. How this rational religion will take the place of the religion of the church, or how it will be disseminated and fostered is a question for speculation but I feel the future will solve it. It is imperative that we should be prepared to do our bit toward furthering the progress of the world, and we cannot do it by clinging to the religion exemplified by the church. We want a religion that will be able to give us leadership in our present chaotic state, which will help us to progress, and we believe that with the present organized religion we are unable to make any progress.

Let the Cross which was originally a sign of social revolution, set up at the demand of an endangered society, give us hope. In that sign we, too, will conquer.

Recessional

By Georgia Douglas Johnson

My life flares up like a dying torch
That leaps once again but to say:
Good-bye to the glow of the rosy morn
With its vanishing banners gay!

My life flares up—by its fitful light
I gaze once again around,
Just to say farewell to the springtime hopes
That I leave in the upturned ground.

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